

**ECOWAS AS MECHANISM FOR
COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION
IN THE WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGION:**

A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Anthonia Enujekor, hereby declare that this project has been written by me through extensive research. It has not been previously presented in any application for a master's degree. All the information used has been duly acknowledged in the references.

CERTIFICATION

This research work 'ECOWAS AS MECHANISM FOR COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGION: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT' has been read and approved as meeting the requirement for the award of a Masters degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy of the department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the Almighty God for making it possible for me to have life and health to be able to start and complete this research work.

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I wish to express my profound gratitude to God Almighty for his continuous love and faithfulness throughout my Masters program. To God is all the glory.

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May God Almighty bless you all abundantly in Jesus name!

**Anthonia Enujekor
Abuja, Nigeria**

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ABSTRACT

The problem of this research is to identify the factors militating against ECOWAS as a mechanism for the growth and development of cooperation and integration in West Africa. The study seeks to identify and examine the development policies and mechanisms of the ECOWAS Community in order to make recommendations to accelerate the pace of cooperation and integration on the path to sustainable growth and development in the West African sub-region. Specifically, the objectives are to; identify the ECOWAS policies/strategies for integrating the countries of West Africa and to assess to what extent the policies and activities of ECOWAS have impacted on trade, employment, peace and security within the Community. The research methodologies adopted in this study are both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The data was collected through primary sources such as a questionnaire field survey, interviews and secondary sources like books, library materials, journals, periodicals and government publication etc. The analysis of the data for this study was done using tables and descriptive statistics (such as simple percentages). The various comments and responses were used to corroborate the data from the secondary source. The findings of the study shows that the majority of Community citizens support ECOWAS because since its establishment in 1975, the organization has achieved substantially the integration of the countries of the sub-region, that ECOWAS has had a positive impact on community development, cooperation and improved cross-boarder traffic within the region. The findings of the study revealed that ECOWAS policies such as trade liberalization have had positive impacts on trade, youth employment, peace and security within the community. The implications of the study is that if the member states are dedicated to the policy framework of corporation and integration as pursued by ECOWAS, there would be an acceleration of cooperation and integration in West Africa with its attendant benefits on economic development, peace and security.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background To The Study

The problem of structural transformation from dependant colonial regimes to viable independent economies capable of effective participation in an interdependent world economy has proved a challenge in West Africa.

The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 with the objectives of promoting “cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity, particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, trade, money and finance for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, maintaining and enhancing economic stability and development.”

In the competitive world of globalization and liberalization, cooperation and integration offers the only chance to be relevant and to speak with one voice in international negotiations. The formation of integration vehicles such as the African Union (AU) and ECOWAS present an opportunity for concerted efforts by African Heads of

State to pursue the ideals of integration as an instrument of faster collective growth and prosperity for Africa. The African Union is the continental integration umbrella for the countries that make up Africa. The African Union rests much of its policy articulation, aggregation and implementation on regional integration institutions such as ECOWAS in West Africa.

1.2 Statement Of The Research Problem

ECOWAS was conceived as an inter-governmental institution to pursue community cooperation and integration as an instrument of faster collective growth and prosperity for West Africa. However, general perceptions gained from information from different sources are showing that ECOWAS has failed to be this vehicle of growth and prosperity for the West Africa.

The problem of this research is to identify the factors militating against ECOWAS as a mechanism for the growth and development of cooperation and integration in West Africa.

A cursory look at the integration efforts in West Africa reveals a high level of duplication of programs and activities as well as overlapping

memberships with serious implications for the allocation of scarce resources. In spite of the recurring failures which have attained the many attempts at freeing Africa from the death grip of underdevelopment and adversity through cooperation and integration, the search must continue.

1.3 Research QUESTIONS

The research questions for this study are as follows;

- 1 How effective has ECOWAS been as a mechanism to integrate the countries of the West African sub-region?
- 2 To what extent have the policies and activities of ECOWAS boosted the value of trade and availability of jobs within the Community?
- 3 To what extent has the ECOWAS policies been able to maintain peace and stability in the West African sub-region?

1.4 Research Propositions

1. Community citizens have opposed ECOWAS policies because they have failed to integrate the countries of the sub-region together.
2. The introduction of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization scheme has boosted the value of trade among Member States and has created new jobs for the youths of the community.
3. The common defense policies of ECOWAS has successfully curbed the incidence of coups d'état in West Africa because it is a set back to economic growth and development to West African Countries

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to examine the strategic function of ECOWAS as a mechanism for developing cooperation and integration in West Africa. The study seeks to identify and examine the development policies and mechanisms of the ECOWAS Community in order to accelerate the pace of cooperation and integration on the path to sustainable growth and development in the West African sub-region.

Specifically, the objectives are to;

1. Identify the ECOWAS policies/strategies for integrating the countries of West Africa.
2. Assess to what extent the policies and activities of ECOWAS have affected the value of trade and employment within the Community.
3. Evaluate the extent that ECOWAS policies have been able to maintain peace and stability in the West African sub-region.

1.6 Research Methodology

1.6a Method of Data Collection

Data for this study was collected from two sources; namely primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected through the use of questionnaires and interviews, while secondary data were sourced from books, library materials, journals, periodicals and government publication etc.

Primary Data

The sources of our primary data were the followings:

a) **Questionnaires:** Field survey method of research was employed since this method involves going out into the field to collect data in order to verify propositions or answer questions concerning the role of ECOWAS as a mechanism for cooperation and integration in West Africa. Questionnaires were given to respondents to give answers on a variety of carefully selected questions.

The field survey is economical in the sense that a study of representative samples will allow for generalizations to population that would have been too expansive to study as a whole. The result obtained in the research study can be applied as feedback to ECOWAS or similar organization.

The problem with field survey design research is the lack of response from respondents. Some do not answer some questions while others do not simply returned questionnaires. Despite these set backs, it is the most appropriate method of obtaining the required data for the successful completion of this research.

The research questions and propositions were aimed at testing the impact of ECOWAS as a mechanism for cooperation and integration within the West Africa.

b) **Interviews:** Personal interviews with the respondents were conducted to determine the level of congruence of information given between one person and the other. Some of the issues examined involved the assessment of the overall and possible alternatives in the management of ECOWAS with respect to the cooperation and integration aspect of the Organization.

c) **Participant observation:** The opportunity to observe the activities being carried out by the ECOWAS community was possible for the researcher by virtue of being a relation of a staff of ECOWAS. This exposure enables the collection of data which is regarded as primary data in research methodology.

1.7 Population Sample

The questionnaire is an instrument designed to get answers to questions by using a form which the respondents filled by themselves; answers to those questions provided data for hypotheses testing or propositions verification in the study. The questionnaires were distributed by the researcher at four different organizations i.e. the ministry of Foreign Affairs, ECOWAS Institutions, University of

Abuja and NGOs. The administration of the questionnaire took the following order:

1)	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50
2)	University of Abuja	70
3)	ECOWAS Institutions	60
4)	Non Governmental Organization (NGOs)	70
	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>250</i>

The researcher made use of questionnaires in the study because of the following reasons.

- a) The questionnaire elicited more candid and more objective responses because of its greater impersonality.
- b) The questionnaires permitted more reflection for answers.
- c) Respondents had greater confidence in their anonymity and thus felt freer to express their views on the subject matter.
- d) The questionnaire required much less skill to administer than the interview. They were simply handed over to respondents with a minimum of explanation.

However, from the 50 questionnaires that was not returned, the ministry of Foreign Affairs accounted for 10, the University of Abuja 10, ECOWAS institutions 12 and lastly NGOs 18.

Therefore, the returned copies of the questionnaire were as follows;

1) Ministry of Foreign Affairs	40
2) University of Abuja	60
3) ECOWAS Institutions	48
4) NGOs	52
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>200</i>

The research study population was drawn from both male and female groups with a total sample of 250. The target of the study which is the whole of the sub-region is not intended to be a part of this study as it would amount to a referendum with its associated costs and complexity. Consequently, the study was limited to Nigeria, the largest country within the sub-region with approximately half of the West African population. The sample was additionally restricted to part of the population of Nigeria.

The population consisted of a number of limited enquires in which the researcher decides whether information is to be sought from all or only some of its units sample size. In the alternative is the sub-set of the totality or the number of sample units fewer than the gross that is drawn from the population and examined in details. The target population covered in the study was policy makers, renowned economists, NGOs, respected members of the academic, business personalities that transverse the community boarders who are all knowledgeable on the subject matter of this study by practice and observation.

SAMPLE SIZE OF POPULATION

ORGANIZATION	SAMPLE SIZE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50
University of Abuja	70
ECOWAS Institutions	60
NGOs	70
TOTAL	250

Source: questionnaire distributed and returned October 2010

1.7a Sample Size Technique

A sample is defined as a limited number of elements or subjects selected from a population which is fairly representative. The process of using a part as a basis for an estimate of a whole is known as sampling. A sample is, therefore, a smaller group of elements or subjects drawn through a definite procedure from a specified population. The elements making up this sample are those actually studied.

The sampling technique employed in the study was random sampling. This technique was employed because ECOWAS member states has large population which could not all be readily studied. Moreover, ECOWAS member states are structured differently. The method was therefore chosen to ensure a fair representation of the samples.

A random sampling technique was used in the study because it was cheaper to study a sample than the entire population of ECOWAS community. Moreover this technique enabled the researcher to be more thorough and it afforded him better supervision than with a complete coverage of the entire population of ECOWAS community.

Lastly, sampling of this nature (random) enabled the researcher to obtain quicker results than with a complete coverage of the entire population of the ECOWAS community. In view of this, four main survey groups randomly selected were used in this study. As earlier stated a population sample of 250 was selected and used in this study. The breakdown of the sample is as follows:

ORGANIZATION	SAMPLE SIZE	RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE	NON RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50	40	10
University of Abuja	70	60	10
ECOWAS Institutions	60	48	12
NGOs	70	52	18
TOTAL	250	200	50

Source: questionnaire distributed and returned October, 2010

Out of the 250 questionnaires distributed only 200 questionnaire were completed and returned as at the time of analyzing the data. This means that a total of 50 questionnaires were not returned either due to loss or other reasons.

Secondary Data

The secondary sources of data were derived from existing works comprising journals, articles, conference proceedings, seminar papers, government gazettes, output of commissioned research, and others all of which were pieced together on the basis of relevance to constitute a good review of literature for this work. The internet, libraries and lecture notes were also useful for obtaining data.

1.7b Method of Data Analysis

The analysis of the data for this study was done using tables and descriptive statistics (such as simple percentages). The various comments and responses were used to corroborate the data from the secondary source.

1.8 Literature Review

This section analyzes the theoretical and strategic underpinnings of conventional approaches to regional integration in West Africa. The key feature of these conventional approaches is seen to be their voluntarism — the analysis of regional integration as an exercise in

economic optimization independent of underlying social and political realities. The issue of implementation is thus reduced to the choice of instruments for achieving one's goals, be it the design of institutional mechanisms or the choice of operational modalities. The lack of attention to socio-political considerations leads to a lack of realism in the definition of objectives and strategic orientations.

Bourenane(1990) proposes an alternative approach based on the notion of community-building. Such an approach would more rigorously take into account the sociopolitical impediments to regional integration, while actively promoting those agents of change with a stake in the process. Community-building is conceived as a long-term process requiring attention to national priorities and the evolving interests of stakeholders, and a progressive and flexible approach. Under this strategic approach, the state is no longer perceived as the sole agent and promoter of regional integration, becoming instead a sort of catalyst in a process involving multiple actors.

Recent economic transformations, marked by the emergence of the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement, have brought into focus the issues of regional integration and regional community. This is reflected in political speeches and has been the subject of numerous studies.

The notion of integration refers here to a voluntary pooling of resources for a common purpose by two or more sets of partners belonging to different states. The process aims to reinforce structural interdependencies of a technical and economic sort, with positive effects on economic welfare. According to this definition, it is clear that the unions imposed by the colonial powers in Africa (French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the South African Customs Union, etc.) were not the outcome of an integrative process. These unions resulted from the outside imposition of uniform policies on un-integrated partners and geographic areas Bourenane (1990). Viewed in this way, a union can be the result of either integration or the submission of several contiguous areas to the same authority, with or without recourse to violence.

The notion of integration is more closely related to that of community and community-building. It takes into account the collective nature of the process of building a collective space in a conscious, negotiated, and irreversible manner by partners who have chosen to share a common destiny in a politico-institutional framework pre-established through negotiation, based on a strategic vision of their common future.

Cooperation is a collaborative venture between two or more partners, with common interests in a given issue. It can be limited to a single issue, field of activity, or a particular sector and the contractual nature of cooperative arrangements means that they are time bound, and reversible. The notion of cooperation is often used contiguously with that of integration, and the former is often considered to be the instrument of the latter. However, cooperation does not necessarily lead to integration. The rationale behind it according to Bourenane (1990) can be quite different. Cooperation does not necessarily imply a relationship of equality among partners, as it may include an element of foreign aid by one partner in favour of the other. It

involves specific initiatives, bringing together two or more partners, on a collaborative basis.

Regional integration is often perceived as a prelude to unification, understood to represent the existence of homogeneous rules and principles governing behaviour in a given spatial area. Historically speaking, this is false. As the example of the Association of South-East Asian Nations shows, integration does not lead automatically to union. Despite the fact that these countries are economically integrated, they are far from constituting a union. Similarly, a union can exist without integration, as was the case with the colonial unions in Africa.

A distinction should also be made between regional integration and economic integration. The latter implies the integration of economic activities, sectors, or subsectors in the pursuit of economic advantage. In this, the geographic dimension, notably spatial proximity, is not always fundamental. In contrast, the notion of regional integration cannot be detached from its association with geographic and physical space. Regional affiliation becomes a determining factor around which are defined feelings of cultural and

political cohesion and a shared vision of the future for a defined group. The two notions are frequently confused in the literature, although they only partially intersect. Economic integration may even prevent regional integration, if it takes place between regions that are geographically removed at the expense of neighbouring regions Bourenane (1990).

The concept of regional integration can be distinguished from associated concepts along three main lines: it is voluntary (unions may or may not be voluntary); it is *collectively undertaken*, bringing into play the concept of community-building (in contrast to the contractual and temporary nature of regional cooperation); and it is *geographically defined* (in contrast to the notion of economic integration in the generic sense of the term) Inotai (1982).

There is every need or desire for cooperation and integration in Africa for there to be peace and political stability. It is only with cooperation and rational integration that sustainable development can take place. The above fact was re-emphasized by Ogorbaria (2001) where he asserted that "the relationship between political stability and the sustenance of the emerging state is complex, fundamental and

dialectical. There is complex critical sense in cooperation and integration within the Africa continent.

Africa has suffered a lot of injustices from colonial powers therefore if there is no cooperation and integration, consequently, development cannot take place. " Still Oyorbaire (2001) had this to say: "Africa has made significant progress in the past 150 years. Emerging from centuries of institutionalized and devastating slave trade and subsequent colonization by European predatory powers, the continent had by 1900 became firmly rooted in and been taken over by imperialism and colonialism in which the entire African people's resources, sovereignty and human personality were thoroughly subjugated by external forces. Between 1900 and 1957 when Ghana pioneered political independence from colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa, the continent suffered tremendously all manner of inhumanity, exploitation and appropriation of its land, other natural and mineral resources as well as the destruction of its environment"

The general idea of establishing a regional community in West Africa was borne primarily from the realization that most West African countries are too small, both in terms of population and per capita incomes to survive as viable commercial entities. As a consequence of their limited markets, they do not offer attractive returns to potential investors, accordingly resulting in limiting investment in essential infrastructure that depends on economies of scale for viability. Therefore regional integration was identified essentially with economic matters — regional trade in particular.

In the mean time, the developed countries of Europe, North America, Latin America and the Asia-Pacific regions had begun to organize themselves into regional economic groupings and moving steadily towards political and social integration. Globalization promised so much for the world and so little for Africa.

The economic realities on the ground necessitated West African countries to pool their resources together through regional cooperation and economic integration in order to survive. In turn,

this basic understanding has evolved from the desire to integrate on purely economic issues to political, social and even security and defense related issues.

The general ECOWAS understanding on integration rapidly developed from agreements on economic integration as mentioned above to cooperation on specific issues such as the free movement of persons, the right of residence and establishment, cross boarder Trade, Non aggression, customs cooperation, culture, Community Levy, Defense and Politics. Agreements in the development of Community transport networks, communications, education, aviation, energy, the environment and agriculture have in like manner followed suit.

Various international institutions, including those belonging to the UN system, the World Bank, and the European Union have adopted a different approach based on integration through cooperation. An EEC document (1988) defines two preliminary stages in the pursuit of regional integration: thematic or functional cooperation and sectoral policy coordination. The former involves collaboration in the

exploitation of shared resources (e.g., river basin development) or joint efforts in fighting a common problem (e.g., locust control). The second stage involves harmonizing sectoral policies (in the textile industry, for example) to avoid the contradictions and problems stemming from the adoption of uncoordinated national policies.

The World Bank appears to favour regional cooperation along three main lines: economic liberalization aimed at market deregulation and increased access to global markets; greater regional coordination of monetary and macroeconomic policies in the context of its structural adjustment programs; and maximum pragmatism in the design of cooperation schemes involving different groups of countries or areas of collaboration (World Bank 1989). However, little has been done to incorporate such measures in World Bank practice in most of Africa, especially in the Bank's application of structural adjustment programs, which have yet to make the shift from a national approach to a regional one.

The above is a clear indication that there must be that desire for cooperation and integration if meaningful development is to take place. In fact, since the attainment of independence, most countries on the African continent have severally been engaged in crisis which has distorted progress and hindered development. Since most Africa countries are faced with similar problems, there is therefore an urgent need for cooperation in order to solve these problems. It was in this regard that Okello (1998) identified that: "although formally freed from colonialism, governance in the continent was bedeviled by all manner of crisis. The continent therefore experienced what can be described as limitations to progress by the close of the 20th century. But what is the situation as the continent entered the 21st century? Has the demise of colonialism, apartheid and the global cold war system, necessarily created better conditions for the African peoples?

How has modern science and technology, particularly the globalization of economic and scientific forces, affected the African condition? Is there real value for the African personality in 2001? What is the state of health of the peoples, their environment,

education and even the rate of literacy and knowledge for the transformation and utilization of their immense natural resources for the benefit of the peoples? What is the out look for the continental as a unit actor in relation to other continental unit actors in the world system? What are the dominant governance paradigms in the continent? What are the structures and instruments of regional and intra-regional relationships in the continent? The answers to the above is largely dependent on cooperation within the integrated national unit”

Ahmed (2005) further argued that “the general idea of establishing regional communities in Africa was borne primarily from the realization that most African countries are too small, both in terms of population and per capita incomes to survive as viable commercial entities. As a consequence of their limited markets they do not offer attractive returns to potential investors, accordingly resulting in limiting investment in essential infrastructure that depends on economics of scale for viability.

The numerous policy efforts of individual governments to diversify production and encourage exports bore little or no results. The economic realities on the ground necessitated African countries to pool their resources together by enhance regional cooperation and economic integration in order to survive. In turn, this basic understanding has evolved from the desire to integrate on purely economic issues to political, social and even security and defense related issues”

She further stated that the economic community of West African states, ECOWAS is product of these practical realities that economic cooperation and integration, peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are preconditions for sustainable development. The community was conceived as an inter-governmental organization with a primary orientation to establish and maintain areas of mutual benefit and understanding among its sovereign members state.

The foregoing therefore suggests that for peace, security, democracy and good governance to persists, there must be a desire for

cooperation and integration. The desire for cooperation and integration can also be viewed in the functionalism approach or theory. Mitrany (1975) holds that states that have common interests, values and experience can transfer their sovereign will by a function and not formula in the realization of set goals, and objectives in the hope that in time the integrating states would shift from working together in certain technical areas of interest to creating a political Union (as a higher level of cooperation).

For the functionalist, by cooperating in specific areas, usually non political issue, states can learn to trust one another to the point, in the stream of time, where causes of political conflicts are eliminated. Functionalism makes a case for the reduction of extreme forms of nationalism to pave way for greater mutual trust and confidence.

HAAS (1976) explained the need for cooperation in a theory referred to as "Neofunctionalism" the theory shares the same spirit with functionalism about the need for states that have common interests, values and aspirations to agreed and work together, but it is worried

that the timetable of evolutionary process will not move quickly enough to head off too many difference, perhaps, in strategies of action and compliance.

Ernest (1997) said, neofunctionalists differ by rejecting an evolutionary process which favors the establishment of an institutional mechanism to promote more collaborative tendencies rather than take for granted a transition from nonpolitical aims of cooperation to political union. The held advantage of a behavioral process over an evolutionary one is that an established institutional mechanism will respond to early signals of differences with a view to addressing political issues with an eye to greater political cooperation to political union.

The above explains why in modern integration schemes, states are not taking their differences for granted. Nothing is to be left to time for the sake of mutual trust and confidence. Integrating states now favor institutional mechanism, in the form of Parliaments inter-ministerial committees or regional forums, for harmonizing

perceptions, intentions, interests, values, and strategies for achieving set goals.

Like the economic development that it is meant to promote, the regional integration process cannot be understood without careful consideration of the basic factors that shape and influence West African society – its ideological, socio-cultural, political, economic, institutional, and administrative dimensions — studied with regard to their impact on the regional integration process. Several issue-areas emerge as particularly relevant to an understanding of the limited progress of regional integration to date or the conditions of renewed dialogue in defining new approaches for the future. The present section systematically addresses each of these issue-areas Foroutan, F. (1993).

The building blocks of a realistic and dynamic integration strategy

We propose a progressive approach to the construction of regional communities focused on what is strategically useful and possible at the social and technical levels. The choice and design of instruments and modalities so central to conventional approaches become

secondary in this context. The type of institution to be established, the specific measures to be applied, and the time-table to be followed will depend on the nature and content' of the strategy chosen, the context in which it is to be applied, the nature of the actors involved, and the nature of their interest in the process. They cannot be defined in advance.

The approach should be a pragmatic one, based on the adoption of a realistic and dynamic integration strategy. Among the building blocks constituting such a strategy, the first relates to the very notion of community-building, which should reflect a cumulative consensus among the actors concerned at the subnational, national, and international levels. This implies that regional construction should be based on national strategies, defined as part of the democratic process.

According to Balassa (1961) integration should be viewed as a gradual process, in which higher and higher levels of cooperation are achieved, through a process aimed more at the strengthening of emerging national economies than their dissolution into a larger

regional body. Regional integration should not be viewed as a panacea in the pursuit of economic recovery and development. It can at best be a complement, not a substitute, for national programs, and it is essential for member countries to have a clear vision of their own development priorities. The objective should be to use the community as a vehicle for the promotion of selected economic sectors or activities, in collaborative fashion. Such an approach requires that participating countries rise above petty national rivalries and ulterior motives that are capable of undermining the integration process to foster long-term understanding, solidarity, and mutual confidence among states and economic actors.

The first priority should be the coordination of economic and social policies to harmonize the economic environments in different countries, in favour of stakeholders whose activities are capable of promoting economic integration in a sustained and irreversible way.

A gradual and flexible approach

The second requirement of a more realistic and pragmatic approach lies in the composition of regional groupings. The idea of carving up the continent into a small number of large and exclusive economic communities should be replaced by an approach which follows the lead of stakeholders in various areas of activity. This implies the need for a highly flexible approach and the organization of countries into groups along variable lines according to the objectives of different stakeholders.

The definition of integration programs and time-frames should also take into account the nature of socio ethnic structures in and among the countries concerned, the recent history of social relations, and the geostrategic context within which they operate. Socio ethnic ties continue to play an important role in conditioning the behaviour of individuals and economic actors everywhere in Africa, and in West Africa specifically.

The animosities that prevailed in the past between various social groups can flare up at any time, especially under difficult or unstable economic conditions. As has often occurred, a simple sporting event involving teams from two neighboring countries or a theft of cattle

can have an incommensurate impact on inter-country relations, seriously jeopardizing cooperative initiatives or joint investment projects, which are sometimes perceived by local populations as a source of resource transfer at their expense to the benefit of neighbouring countries.

For economic integration in West Africa to succeed in its role as an instrument for fostering the development of the partner states requires that these countries have a clear sense of their own development objectives and strategies and be fully committed to the pursuit of these goals. A development culture must be fostered, both within government and among the people, so that concern for a better future replaces preoccupation with the satisfaction of immediate needs. With development objectives placed high on the national agenda, well thought-out development strategies would not be so easily replaced with ad hoc economic management decisions, and regional integration would more easily come to the fore as a necessary component of such strategies.

Since 1975, when the countries of West Africa committed themselves to forming an economic community, how many member states have drawn up national development plans or programs with regional considerations or the regional market as their point of reference? What measures have been introduced by governments as incentives for their business communities to venture into cross-border investments and transactions, and what encouragement are ordinary people offered to think in West African terms? An integration culture is not yet conspicuous in the region nor is integration accorded the high priority it deserves on national economic agendas Van Hoek (1990).

The required level of regional solidarity and community spirit can be expected to develop by itself, over time, through the accumulation of shared experiences, growing awareness of the advantages of belonging to the Community, or a clearer perception of common interests. However, Van Hoek (1990) this process could be actively reinforced through national mechanisms to promote the virtues of regional integration while propagating knowledge and understanding

of how regional cooperation can be used in support of national development goals.

It was the rise of nationalism that inspired the peoples of the colonies to seek political independence. Subsequently, the creation of a national identity and the exercise of national sovereignty have been prominent features of the post-independence political agenda. Today, that legacy of national sovereignty and the jealousy with which it is guarded have become obstacles to progress on the road to regional integration, which requires a certain sharing of sovereignty among members of the community. Osadolor. B. (1990) exacerbating this tendency are other aspects of the colonial heritage that continue to influence national institutions and attitudes in the political as in other fields, including differences in legal and educational systems or administrative structures or the North-South orientation of national economic structures.

Differences in political ideology have also influenced attitudes and approaches to regional integration. For example, during the negotiation of the ECOWAS rules of origin and the Protocol on

Community Enterprises, socialist governments and national administrations that were pursuing strong indigenization policies fought for a regional policy that encouraged greater state or indigenous participation. Against this were member states wedded to the laissez-faire ideology, who advocated a more liberal approach to the issue of third country participation in Community projects Osadolor. B. (1993). The latter ideological school eventually won the day, since the rules have recently been revised, by lowering to 25% the share of indigenous equity participation required for goods to qualify as originating from the Community.

Always lurking in the political shadows is the unexpressed fear of domination by Nigeria: the "big country" issue. Nigeria overshadows every other country in the region several times over in terms of population, gross domestic product, and natural resource endowment. An effort has been made to counterbalance this by placing ECOWAS member states on an equal footing in all things except their financial contributions to the Community (which are prorated), but the concern remains. The French tend to provoke and

sustain this fear of domination, as they strive to maintain their sphere of influence in the region. It is in the interests of the Community that this issue be carefully dealt with to dispel any remaining fears and promote greater commitment to the regional integration process Ekane (1993).

The wave of reforms currently sweeping the region in favour of political pluralism and economic liberalism should help to narrow political and ideological differences among member states. This tendency may be reinforced by the Community's adoption in 1991 of the Abuja Declaration of Political Principles, which enshrines a minimum set of democratic principles as guidance to member states in their quest for a well-established democratic society. This is a modest beginning of political cooperation, but constitutes a vital step nonetheless.

The revised Treaty also envisages the establishment of a West African parliament to promote grassroots involvement and popular participation in regional integration and cooperation. More democratic rule should bring about a more stable and congenial political

atmosphere, which according to Ekane (1993) is a sine qua non for regional integration. The establishment of liberal democracy throughout the region would also enhance free enterprise, freedom of association, and the free flow of information and ideas, all of which are fundamental to the viability of an economic community.

The revised ECOWAS Treaty also postulates a degree of supranational for the Community, and member states must attune themselves to this new perspective. The wrangling that accompanied the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in Denmark, Britain, Germany, and France are indicative of the difficulty of selling the idea of supranational to national governments and their electorates. However, this should not blind ECOWAS countries to the precedent set by the European Union (EU) in according important supranational powers to the European Commission and other EU institutions in economic matters Ekane (1993).

Regional integration has come to be identified with the definition of technical and bureaucratic modalities and institutional mechanisms for enhancing economic cooperation between neighbouring countries.

The potential for conflict in the pursuit of different partners' socioeconomic objectives is overlooked or glossed over, along with the need for setting priorities in the timing and geographic impact of various actions. It is only through studies such as those by the Club du Sahel, the Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), or the Conference of Ministers of Agriculture on problems of food security that new and more realistic ways of thinking are emerging.

From an historical point of view, this instrumental approach can be attributed to two myths carried over from colonial times and the national liberation movements: the idea that certain areas are naturally amenable to integration due to their historical past as colonies of the same foreign power; and the notion of fraternal bonds of solidarity among states and peoples as' a result of their struggles for political independence. The first of these two myths continues to influence the thinking of numerous researchers with regard to French Nation in Africa (Diouf 1993).

However, the notion of regional integration is misapplied in this context, because the subjugated and pacified areas in question were united by force of the colonial authorities, and not by choice of the original inhabitants. The resulting unity was short-lived in many ways, because the very purpose of the struggle for independence was to abolish the dominant relationships established by the colonial regimes. As for the liberation movements, they covered a wide range of opinions and political philosophies whose only common feature was their opposition to the colonial state and its socially discriminatory and repressive nature. This accounted for the opposing views that surrounded the discussions leading up to the creation of the Organization of African Unity following independence. The instrumental stance taken in most scholarly treatments of regional integration led to a dearth of analysis regarding the socio-economic, political, cultural, and spatial feasibility of integration projects and helped to reinforce the voluntarism of state-led initiatives. This helps to account for the excessive optimism of government leaders and high officials at summit meetings of intergovernmental organizations. Heads of state were thus reinforced

in their apparent belief that it was sufficient to agree among them at the highest level for regional integration to magically occur over the short or medium term. Everything was done as though the authority of heads of state was absolute, as though they were the total masters of their respective societies and totally independent of their regional and international environments, and only had to copy the experience of others to succeed.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The framework of this study is rooted in the institutional approach of integration theory. African IGO's including ECOWAS have tended to be permanent and institutional in character. The powers and scope of action of existing IGOs and their secretariats including ECOWAS are however limited, and the real power in most cases rests with intergovernmental bodies such as the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, or specialized technical commissions composed of government representatives Bourenane (1990). This has given rise to the intergovernmental approach.

However in practice these intergovernmental bodies have little or no analytical appetite and merely rubber stamp the decisions of the experts. This corresponds to an approach based on cooperation rather than community-building, and reflects the underlying objective, which is not to transcend, so much as to reaffirm, national sovereignty.

The theoretical foundations of conventional approaches to regional integration date back to three important schools of economic thought in the 1960s: neoclassical economics, Marxism, and development economics. The earliest theoretical work on regional integration emanated from the theory of comparative advantage in international trade, and the interest of liberal economists in promoting the reduction of tariff and nontariff barriers to trade. At issue was the choice of modalities for implementing such policies and the effectiveness of regional integration as a mechanism of trade liberalization Perroux (1966).

Viner's (1950) classic article on the subject pointed out that regional economic integration could lead to either "trade creation" or "trade

diversion". By reducing trade barriers between neighbouring countries, customs unions and free trade areas could promote economic efficiency in the allocation of resources by contributing to the gradual strengthening of international trade. However, the emergence of such economic entities could also promote trade "diversion" and become a source of economic inefficiency, if the most competitive producers of a particular product suddenly found themselves excluded from the regional market as a result of the customs union.

This approach continues to inspire the economic profession even today, and the issue of integration seen from the point of view of comparative advantage and the trade creation/diversion dichotomy is still prevalent in the specialized literature, as reflected in contemporary debate on whether the formation of major economic blocs constitutes progress or a hindrance to the liberalization of international trade Bourenane (1990). However, there are serious analytic limitations to this model, with its focus on static efficiency in the allocation of resources, for countries whose main interest lies in the dynamics of development and industrialization.

Marxist thinkers have adopted a different approach; integration emerges as a reflection of the internationalization of capital and is intrinsic to the evolution of the capitalist economy. For example, the creation of a single European market is seen to reflect the concentration of capital and the internationalization of European firms, rather than the desire of welfare-maximizing governments to rationalize the allocation of resources among the countries concerned.

According to Bourenane (1990), the integration of the European market is thus the consequence, not the precursor, of the transformation of production and trade in favour of larger firms. Regional integration, so conceived, is a source of exclusion and impoverishment of small-scale enterprise and a range of social groups through the usual mechanisms of market displacement. Developing countries intent on actively promoting development through the initiative of the state are urged not to rely on free market forces. Integration among developing countries, in this view,

should be geared toward the rational use of available resources according to a planned and centralized approach to production for the satisfaction of the region's own needs.

Although appealing in its dynamic vision of development, this approach is based on some questionable assumptions, notably about the effectiveness of planning in relation to markets. The rapid collapse of the Eastern Bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) after the break up of the Soviet Union has largely relegated to the history books an approach to economic cooperation and integration based on centralized planning and government directives. The analysis adopted by Marchal (1965) and Perroux (1966) seemed to mark a watershed in thinking about integration. These authors proposed an alternative approach that would take into account the historical dimension of economic and social phenomena.

According to Marchal(1965), integration as the *result* of development is distinct from integration as an *instrument* or precondition of development. Economic integration can be perceived as the historical

product of evolving technical, economic, and social structures; or it can be the product of conscious efforts on the part of human societies, acting collectively to improve their economic condition as a matter of policy choice. Marchal shows that integration taken as a product of history is first and foremost the result of social transformation. It cannot occur just anywhere or under just any conditions. Perroux (1966) follows a similar approach, centered upon three questions: who integrates? Through what process? and to whose advantage?

However, in operational terms, these two authors do not stray very far from the voluntarism approach of their predecessors or from related development thinking prevalent at the time. For Marchal (1965), integration must be based on industrialization as its driving force, and it must be sustained by those social forces capable of supporting and organizing the industrialization process. Similarly, borrowing from development and industrialization thinking of the 1960s, Perroux (1966) builds his model around the concepts of growth poles, strategic investments, and industrialization.

Industrialization is presented here as a collective instrument of development, based on import protection. He draws a distinction between three models of integration and industrialization, based respectively on the use of markets, productive investments, or institutional mechanisms.

This developmentalist and industrializing view of integration ends up assigning a secondary role to the social dimension of the issue, thus abandoning the approach initially adopted and replacing it with a technocratic and geographically focused one. Perroux (1966) thus begins by proposing a socioeconomic and political approach to integration, but allows it to be deformed by the influence of existing development theories.

This brief overview suffices to illustrate the voluntaristic thread of these various approaches. Each of these models is based on the absence, or at least the neutrality, of extra-economic factors in decision-making, thus ignoring the social and political dynamics likely to have an impact on the integration process. Such an approach may be of some use in the design of theoretical constructs, but it is

hopelessly inadequate if the aim is to design actual economic policies or strategies for change.

The voluntaristic character of the models mentioned above has encouraged scholars and practitioners to focus on the choice of instruments for implementing regional integration, to the detriment of community-building as an issue. Analysis has thus revolved around the kinds of institutions to be set up and the choice of modalities to be promoted, as opposed to the identification of key stakeholders or the definition of the conditioning environment necessary for integration to occur under their impetus.

The institutional approach

The institutions to be established may be of a predominantly multilateral or inter-governmental in character. The core institutions in the former case will consist of specific, permanent structures charged with responsibility for designing and proposing integration programs for government approval and pursuing their implementation once they are adopted. Such community

organizations have their own headquarters, staff and operating budgets, and their decisions have a binding supranational character for all parties concerned.

The intergovernmental approach is more ad hoc in orientation. Emphasis is given according to Bourenane (1990) specialized intergovernmental commissions that meet periodically to make decisions or monitor their implementation by participating countries. These commissions are made up of appointed high officials with ministerial responsibilities who are liable to change at any time, and only the structures themselves have a degree of permanence.

Notwithstanding the contrary impression that might be derived from the existence of permanent secretariats and structures in all African IGOs, it is the second orientation which prevails in Africa (Ntumba,). The powers and scope of action of existing IGOs and their secretariats are severely limited, and the real power in each case rests with intergovernmental bodies such as the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, or specialized

technical commissions composed of government representatives Bourenane (1990). This corresponds to an approach based on cooperation rather than community-building, and reflects the underlying objective, which is not to transcend, so much as to reaffirm, national sovereignty.

IGOs all over Africa and ECOWAS in particular, have attempted to imitate the European experience by creating bodies structurally similar to those of the European Union, without giving them the same functions or powers. The lack of a truly African strategy manifests itself in the choice of priorities, which have little impact on integration, because they are too ambitious in view of the resources available to member countries, or simply irrelevant Onwuka (1982).

The West African experience is probably the most elaborate example of this. Although a degree of progress has certainly been achieved, some of the objectives pursued by ECOWAS were clearly overambitious and unrealistic in terms of the established time-frames. This has been the case in the attempt to liberalize

intraregional trade through the establishment of a customs union. A second example according to Owosekun (1980) was the effort to establish joint air transport facilities. Similar observations could be made with regard to CEAO which was dissolved on 14 March 1994.

Examination of the results achieved under CEAO with regard to economic integration and the establishment of a customs union indicates a lack of sustained progress in redefining the structure of trade or increasing its volume, despite member countries' adherence to the same francophone community and the prior existence of the West African Monetary Union (UMOA) (ACP-EEC 1990). Such examples illustrate the difficulty of implementing an integration strategy in the absence of adequate resources and a community-building perspective from the very beginning.

Modalities

The theories of economic integration is to serve as a reference point for empirical work and applied research has encouraged scholars to focus on the definition of operational modalities, their sequencing, and the identification of specific measures to be taken (such as the review of customs duties and nomenclatures or the definition of rules

of origin), with little assessment of their likely impact or social ramifications.

Balassa (1961) distinguishes two alternative approaches, one based on individual projects and the other on some form of packaging. The advantage of the latter approach is to offer some benefit to each partner country. This would allow trade liberalization to proceed by concentrating on products that guarantee each country some increase in income. In the case of developing countries whose resources are limited, the package would also include external financing to support the development of infrastructure, the launching of new export products, etc.

Adopting a similar form of analysis, the ECA (1990) examines three alternative approaches, involving comprehensive, sectoral, or project-based perspectives. The comprehensive approach implies comprehensive action involving all sectors of economic activity. It calls for rigorous planning of the integration process, harmonization of economic policies, and coordination of development plans. It also

requires the establishment of multilateral bodies with supranational powers capable of managing the process.

Although such an approach has obvious appeal due to the intersectoral trade-offs that could be arranged among the partner countries to ensure an equitable distribution of benefits and costs, its implementation would be complex, cumbersome, and costly. The approach also takes for granted a higher degree of economic management at the national level than is currently possible, given the limited capabilities of national planning structures, limited control over national economic realities, and the conditioning effects of structural adjustment programs and overwhelming debt burdens.

The sectoral approach is more progressive, focusing on one sector at a time through the harmonization of development policies and action plans. Though easier to implement, this approach could stumble on the issue of compensation to participants negatively affected by the restructuring of any particular sector, because promises of benefits to come are unlikely to satisfy the parties concerned. The third approach is limited to the identification and implementation of specific projects. It is the easiest and least burdensome approach for

participating countries to adopt, but it is also very limited, involving no significant effort to harmonize global and sectoral economic policies. It also fails to address the distribution issue regarding the indirect costs and positive impacts of the projects to be implemented. Another area worthy of further investigation is regional security, touched upon by Bundu. Danfulani 1993; Osadolor 1993, raised a great deal of controversy about the feasibility of such measures and the dangers of a regional approach in this area of activity given the lack of true democracy in much of the West African subregion. However, the regional impact of the Liberian conflict on neighbouring countries, due to the spill over of violence into Sierra Leone, the exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees into Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea, and the spread to all of West Africa of arms and drugs originating in the war zone is a clear illustration of the regional interest in managing this sort of conflict.

The idea of indiscriminately copying institutions found in Europe and elsewhere is not only a delusion, but an obstacle to progress in building a regional community in West Africa or elsewhere on the continent. The institutional choices made by the European Union

resulted from specific historical circumstances based on high growth rates, low income differentials among the various countries, considerable local managerial and technological capability, high levels of economic trade, government structures with a high degree of legitimacy, a strong desire to end generations of war and conflict, and access to massive external support through the Marshall Plan. None of these conditions exist in Africa!

The ultimate objective of any attempt at integrating of a group of countries is to improve the living conditions of the people, who are at the centre of all development efforts. The Revision of the ECOWAS Treaty (Revised Treaty) was conceived to accelerate the pace of ECOWAS as an Inter-governmental organization with a primary orientation to establish and maintain further areas of mutual benefit and understanding among its sovereign Member States.

A regional community cannot be constructed without taking into account the specificities of the countries and stakeholders involved, including their own historical experiences, in identifying the errors of the past and new paths for the future. Only in this way will it be

possible to overcome the limits of existing models that remain totally divorced from socio-historical realities, despite all their apparent pragmatism in focusing on concrete modalities and timetables for action. Efforts to develop a general theory of regional integration and community-building should not blind us to the specific problems of each region, in light of its own social and economic reality, history, and culture.

1.10 Scope, Limitations and Significance of Study

This study focuses on issues related to the role of ECOWAS IN THE development and growth of cooperation and integration in West Africa. The period of coverage of this study covers the period 1975 to 2006. Emphasis is placed on the activities of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) being the live wire of economic integration in West Africa. The period under study is chosen because it coincides with the establishment of ECOWAS while also the data on most of the variables being studied is more readily available.

Nigeria and Ghana being the most populous of the West Africa counties have borne the brunt and provided the impetus to cooperation and integration in ECOWAS, while Liberia and Sierra Leone having been ravaged by war have tended to lag behind in the payment of dues and other integrative arrangements.

As is the case with most other studies and research there are certain limitations to this study. The fact that many questionnaire were not returned as earlier expected, serves as a great limitation to the study. Apart from that, the researcher also found it difficult to have access to all official documents relating to ECOWAS that would have given us useful information and accurate data presentation and analysis.

However the information from books and other documentary sources were used to bridge the gaps.

This study besides being a research for knowledge as an end in itself is also a search for solution to a societal problem. As a basic research, its findings are aimed at drawing generalizations that can stand the test of verification in both time and space. As an applied research its findings are aimed at producing ideas that can be used to bring about much needed public policy making and review. From

the review of the existing relevant literatures at both national and individual levels it is observed that studies on ECOWAS are macro and general in nature.

A micro study focusing particularly on the role of ECOWAS in cooperation and integration in West Africa as a research project is very scarce, rare and difficult to find. The assessment of the role of ECOWAS is important to justify the huge resources increasingly channeled to its activities.

As the development of integration vehicles in Africa and West Africa is a fairly fluid and recent occurrence; previous works on ECOWAS were limited to the views prevalent at the time of the work. This means that there exists a wide gap in knowledge. It is this gap in knowledge that this research hopes to close by taking a critical analysis on the role of ECOWAS in cooperation and integration in Africa.

It should be recalled that technological advancements have reduced the world into a global village where the economies of sovereign

States have increasingly become interdependent. The West African integration arrangement which ECOWAS represents offers the constituent Nations the best prospects for achieving stable economic development and growth. The impact of ECOWAS on the development and growth of cooperation and integration in Africa cannot therefore be overemphasized.

No nation can achieve greatness by remaining an island unto itself. It must relate with others politically, economically and socially. Third world countries especially African States that have experience colonial administration would need the cooperation of other States, particularly those with which they share borders for their economic development and stability. The formation of ECOWAS was one of the strategies developed by leaders within the West African sub-region to reduce economic dependence on countries of the North while developing its indigenous capacities with a view to achieving self reliance.

1.11 Chapter Organization

This study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the basic introduction of the study. The second chapter deals with the literature review and theoretical framework where the researcher examines other related literary works written by established scholars on the same field. Chapter three focuses on the historical background of ECOWAS and other related matters to Cooperation and integration in West Africa. Chapter four focuses on ECOWAS socio-cultural and political cooperation and integration and presentation and analysis of data. The fifth chapter contains the summary, conclusions and final recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

2.1 The Formation of ECOWAS

The initial moves at forming the organization were made by the then Nigerian Head of state, General Yakubu (Rtd.) and the Togolese leader, Gnassingbe Eyadema; which culminated in the signing of a bilateral trade agreement in April 1972. The agreement was seen by Eyadema as “an embryo” of a West African Economic Community; other countries came into the picture in 1973 during the Lomé, Togo

council of Ministers meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Economic Community.

May 28, 1975, however, saw the treaty establishing the ECOWAS signed by sixteen (16) West African Nations in Lagos, Nigeria. These countries include the host country, Nigeria, Benin Republic (formally Mahoney), the Gambia, Mauritania, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ghana, Cote d' Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Senegal, Togo and Burkina Faso (formally upper Volta). Cape Verde later formed at her independence made the number sixteen.

2.2 Aims and Objectives of ECOWAS

Article 1 of the Treaty of ECOWAS stipulates that:

1. The aim of ECOWAS is to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and finance questions and in social and cultural matters for the purposes of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of

increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.

2. To attain the above aim, the specific objectives of ECOWAS are as follows:

- (a) Elimination of customs duties and other changes of equivalent effect in respect of the importation and exportation of goods among member states.
- (b) Abolition of qualitative and administrative restrictions on trade among member states.
- (c) Establishment of common customs tariff and a common commercial policy toward non-member countries.
- (d) Abolition of obstacles to the free movement of persons, service and capital between member states.
- (e) Harmonization of the agricultural policies and the promotion of common projects in the member states

notably in the fields of marketing, research and agro-industrial enterprises.

- (f) Joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields.
- (g) Harmonization of the economic and industrial policies of member states and the elimination of disparities in the level of development of member states.
- (h) Establishment of a fund for co-operation, compensation and development.
- (i) To carry out such other activities calculated to further the aims of the community as the member states may from time to time undertake in common.

2.3 Organizational Structure and Institutions of ECOWAS

ECOWAS treaty stated the institutions of ECOWAS as:

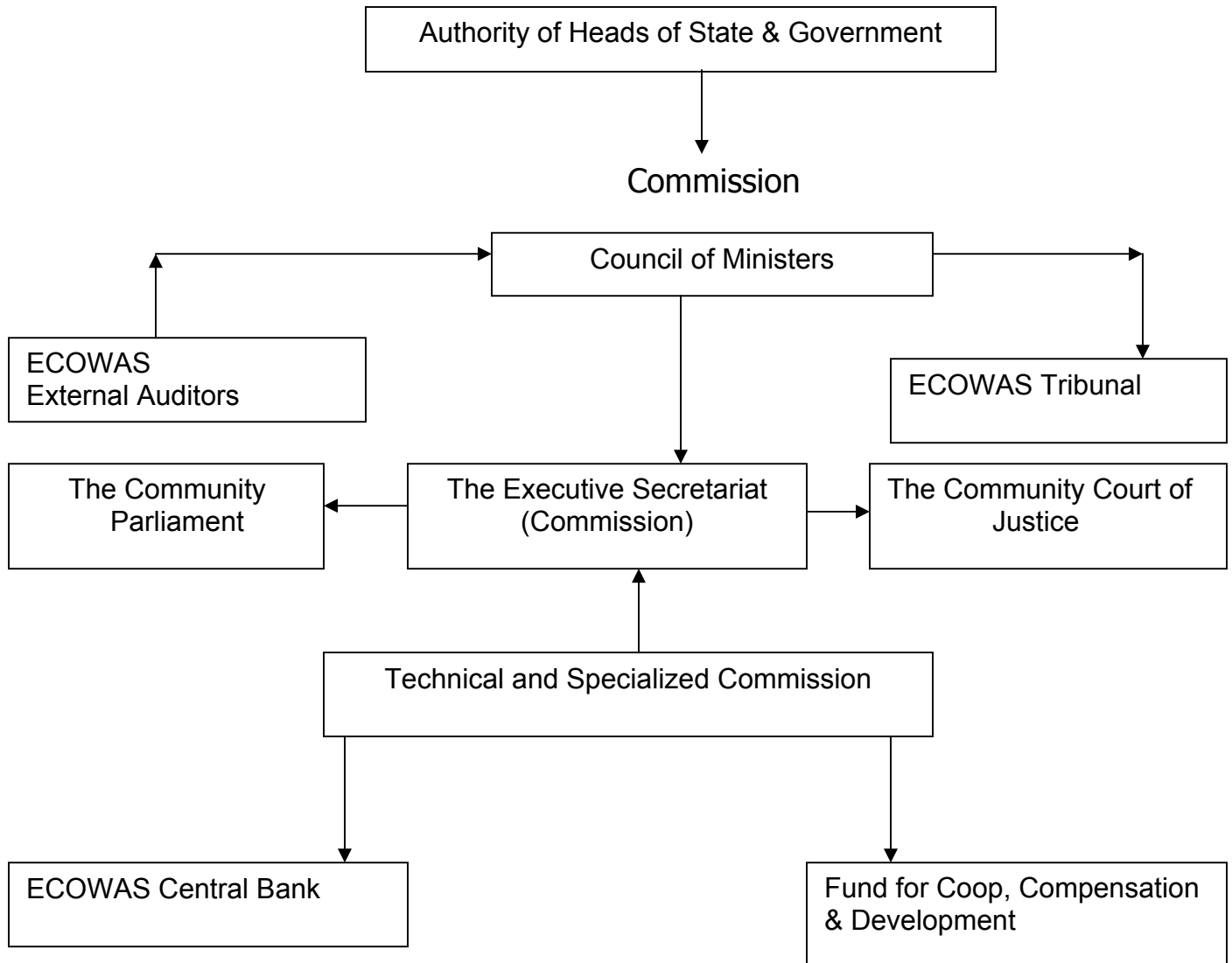
- (a) The Authority of Heads of state and government.
- (b) The Council of Ministers

- (c) The Executive Secretariat
- (d) The tribunal of the Community
- (e) Four technical and Specialized Commissions:

The Revised Treaty

The original Treaty was revised in 1993 to foster and accelerate the economic and social development of Member States. The most exciting development of the revision was the addition of the Community Parliament and the Community Court of Justice to the institutional setup of the organization. (Articles 6) Revised Treaty of ECOWAS.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF ECOWAS



Source: ECOWAS Secretariat Abuja (2010) Nigeria

2.4 The Authority of Heads of State and Government

The Authority of Heads of state and Government of member states is the principal governing institution of ECOWAS. It is responsible for, and has the general direction and control of the community and the achievement of its aims. Its decisions and direction are binding on all institutions of ECOWAS. The Authority meets at least once a year. It determines its own procedure, including that of convening its meetings, for the conduct of business thereat and at other times, and for the annual rotation of the office of the Chairman among the members of Authority. The Chairman for 1987 and 1988 was President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria while that for 1996/1997 is General Sani Abacha also of Nigeria.

2.5 The Council of Ministers

The council of Ministers consists of two representatives of each member states. Its responsibilities include:

- i. To keep under review the function and development of the community in accordance with the treaty.

- ii. To make recommendations to the Authority of matters of policy aimed at the efficient and harmonious functioning and development of the community.
- iii. To give directions to all subordinate institutions of the community.
- iv. To exercise such other powers conferred on it and perform such other duties assigned to it by the treaty.

Its decisions and directions are binding on all subordinate institutions of the community unless otherwise determined by the Authority.

It meets twice a year; one of such meetings is held immediately preceding the annual meeting of the Authority.

It also determines its own procedure including that for convening its meeting, for the conduct of business thereat and at other times and for the annual rotation of the office of Chairman among the members of the council of Ministers.

2.6 The Executive Secretariat (ECOWAS COMMISSION)

The Executive Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary who is appointed by the Authority and who serves for a term of four years

and eligible for reappointment for another term of four years only.

The Executive Secretary, who is like the principal executive officer of ECOWAS, is assisted by two Deputy Executive Secretaries.

The Executive Secretary is responsible for the day-to-day administration of ECOWAS and all its institutions. The ECOWAS Community is presently undergoing a comprehensive restructuring at the instance of the Authority of Heads of State and Government. It is envisaged that by January 2007 the Executive Secretariat would have been transformed into a Commission headed by a President and assisted by a Vice President and 7 Commissioners.

His Duties Includes:

- i. To service and assist the institution of ECOWAS in the performance of their functions.
- ii. To keep the functioning of ECOWAS under continuous examination and where appropriate, report the results of its examination to the council of Ministers.
- iii. To submit a report of activities to all sessions of the council of Ministers and all Meetings of the Authority.

- iv. To undertake such work and studies and perform such services relating to the aims of the community as may be assigned to him by the council of Ministers and also make such proposals thereto as may assist in the efficient and harmonious functioning and development of ECOWAS.

The Executive Secretary for the 1987-1988 periods was Alhaji Momodu Munu and Abass Bundu for 1989-90 periods. Dr Mohammed Ibn Chambas was the last Executive Secretary of the ECOWAS Secretariat and the first President of the ECOWAS Commission.

2.7 The Community Parliament

Without any doubt, the decision on 6 August 1994 to establish the Community Parliament marked a turning point in the history of the Economic Community of West African States. It was a sudden development that followed a critical analysis of the situation in the sub-region, the result of which was echoed in President Olusegun Obasanjo's speech at the 22nd session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government in Lome (Togo) on 9 December 1999.

In that landmark speech, the Nigerian President declared: "If we are to be frank with ourselves, we have to admit that the achievements

of the Community over the last twenty-five years have been very disappointing”.

The inaugural session of the Parliament was held in two stages, first in Bamako and, later, in Abuja. The Bamako session lasted three days, from 16 to 19 November 2000. The second session took place in Abuja (Nigeria) from 21 to 27 January 2001.

The Bamako session was declared officially open by His Excellency Alpha Omar Konare who had announced his determination, upon assuming the post of ECOWAS Chairman, to do everything possible to accelerate the integration process in the sub-region.

His Excellency, President Olusegun Obasanjo, likewise, graced the opening ceremony of the Abuja session with his presence and delivered a keynote address in which he also expressing his fulfillment in the birth of the Parliament and his desire for it to play a pivotal role in the march toward sub regional and continental integration.

Until elections can be held by direct universal suffrage, the Parliamentarians are nominated from respective national assemblies

of Member States on a quota basis for renewable five year terms. The Speaker and his bureau are elected by the Parliamentarians for renewable five and one year terms respectively. The competence of the ECOWAS Parliament as clearly defined in its Protocol is presently advisory and consultative. Parliamentary Committees were established to take charge of the various matters that fall within its authority.

These Committees have been very visible throughout the sub region in their fields. There are presently 13 Standing Committees covering Transport and Communication, Social Affairs and Public Health, Education and Employment, Tourism and Culture, Environment and Rural development, Youth and Sports, Energy technological and Scientific research, Mines & Industry, Law Regulation Free movement of Persons & Human Rights, Foreign Affairs Security & Defense, Finance and Trade, Budget Control and Accounts, Women and Children's rights. The meetings of the standing committees were in practice held outside the seat of the Parliament in the fifteen ECOWAS Member States to exhibit the determination of the ECOWAS

Members of Parliament to remain close to the peoples they represent and to give visibility to their actions. These meetings away from Abuja provide a good opportunity to introduce the citizens of the host countries to the work of the Parliament.

The Parliament since its humble beginnings has been able to establish all its components organs. The Plenary, the Bureau, the Conference of Chairmen and the Secretariat of Parliament have since commenced operation in their various spheres of influence and have been instrumental in the rapid growth of the Parliament. The present restructuring of ECOWAS Institutions is expected to introduce new conditions of service for the Parliamentarians. The new conditions where approved by the Authority are expected to become applicable from January 2007

2.8 The Community Court of Justice

The Community Court of Justice is established under Article 11 of the Treaty as the principal legal organ of the Community. It is composed of 7 Justices selected and appointed by the Authority from nationals

of Member States who are persons of high moral character, and possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law. The term of a judge is a renewable five year term. The Judges elect their own President and Vice President for renewable 3 year terms respectively.

The Community Court of Justice recently had its powers expanded to enable individuals' direct access to the Court as opposed to the previous position where a Member State necessarily represents an individual seeking redress from the court.

The present restructuring of ECOWAS Institutions is expected to introduce new conditions of service for the Judges of the Court. The new conditions where approved by the Authority are expected to become applicable from January 2007

2.9 Specialized Technical Commissions

- (i) The Trade, customs, Immigration, Monetary and Payments Commission
- (ii) The Industry, Agriculture and National Resources

- (iii) The transport, telecommunication and Energy commission
- (iv) The Social and Cultural Affairs commission.

The four (4) technical commissions mentioned shall submit from time to time reports and recommendations through then Executive secretary to the council of Ministers either on their own initiative or upon the request of the council of Ministers of Executive Secretary. Each commission consists of representatives designated by the member states. The implication of these commissions is that citizens of the member state will be better informed about the objectives, nature and implementation strategies and adequately informed about their rights and obligations.

2.10 The External Auditor

The External Auditor is appointed and removed by the Authority of the recommendation of the council of Ministers.

2.11 The Tribunal of the Community

This organ is projected TO ensure the observance of law and justice in the interpretation of the provisions of ECOWAS treaty. It

has the responsibility of setting such disputes as are referred to it in accordance with Article 56 of the ECOWAS Treaty. Its composition competence and statutes are to be prescribed by the Authority. The tribunal are however yet to take off.

2.12 ECOWAS Fund for Co-Operation, Compensation and Development (ECCD)

Article 50 of ECOWAS Treaty established the 'fund' based in Lome, Togo. Its resources are derived from:

- i. Contributions of Member states
- ii. Income from ECOWAS enterprises
- iii. Receipts from bilateral and multilateral sources as well as other foreign sources.
- iv. Subsidies and contributions of all kinds and from all sources.

The fund is used for the following:

- i. To Finance projects in member states.
- ii. To provide compensation to member states which have suffered losses as a result of the location of community enterprises?

- iii. To provide compensation and other forms of assistance to member states which have suffered losses arising out of the application of the provisions of the Treaty on the Liberalization of Trade within the community?
- iv. To guarantee foreign investments made in member state in respect of enterprises established in pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty on the harmonization of industrial policies.
- v. To provide appropriate means to facilitate the sustained mobilization of internal and external financial resources for the member states and the community.
- vi. To promote development projects in the less developed member states of the community.

These were achieved to a certain extent but much commitment is required in order to achieve these completely.

Conclusion

This chapter attempted to highlight the basic structure of ECOWAS while explaining the hierarchy and role of component institutions. It is elementary that the appropriate structural support is necessary to

the success or other wise of any integrative exercise. It can be seen from the illustration above that ECOWAS is supported by adequate structures which are regularly reviewed to achieve its establishment purposes. In addition, there are the Community Parliament and the Community Court of Justice. The purpose of these institutions is to foster and accelerate the economic and social development of Member States.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 IMPACT OF ECOWAS ON COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

3.1 ECOWAS as Mechanism for Cooperation and Integration

It is very important to present a logical and an acceptable data and analyze in order to enable us obtain an accurate and reliable empirical result so as to resolve the problem of the research study. The data collected are hereby presented, computed and processed into meaningful information so as to verify or answer the research questions/propositions.

In order to achieve an organized representative empirical result, two hundred and fifty (250) questionnaires were designed and distributed across sex and age. The sampled organizations as earlier discussed selected for the administration of questionnaires were the ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, the University of Abuja, ECOWAS Institutions and NGOs.

The sample size of the population is shown below.

TABLE 3.1 SAMPLE SIZE OF POPULATION

ORGANIZATION	SAMPLE SIZE	RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE	NON RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	50	40	10
University of Abuja	70	60	10
ECOWAS Institutions	60	48	12
NGOs	70	52	18
TOTAL	250	200	50

Source: questionnaire distributed and returned October, 2010

Table 3.1 above indicates the sampled organizations and the questionnaires distributed and returned. It cut across the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the University of Abuja, ECOWAS Institutions and NGO practitioners. Two hundred and fifty (250) questionnaires were drawn and distributed but only two hundred were returned the remaining fifty (50) were not returned. The returned and unreturned

questionnaires were recorded in the following order. Ministry of Foreign Affairs 50 were given but only 40 were returned while 10 questionnaires were not returned. University of Abuja, 70 questionnaires was distributed, 60 were returned and 10 unreturned. ECOWAS institutions, 60 were distributed but 48 were returned while 18 were not returned.

NGOs, 70 questionnaires were given but only 52 returned and 18 unreturned. The total number of the returned questionnaire was 200, while the unreturned were only 50. The number of returned questionnaire is therefore acceptable because it still gives us a fair representation of the study groups.

TABLE 3.2 SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

SEX	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Male	135	67.5%
Female	65	32.5%
Total	200	100%

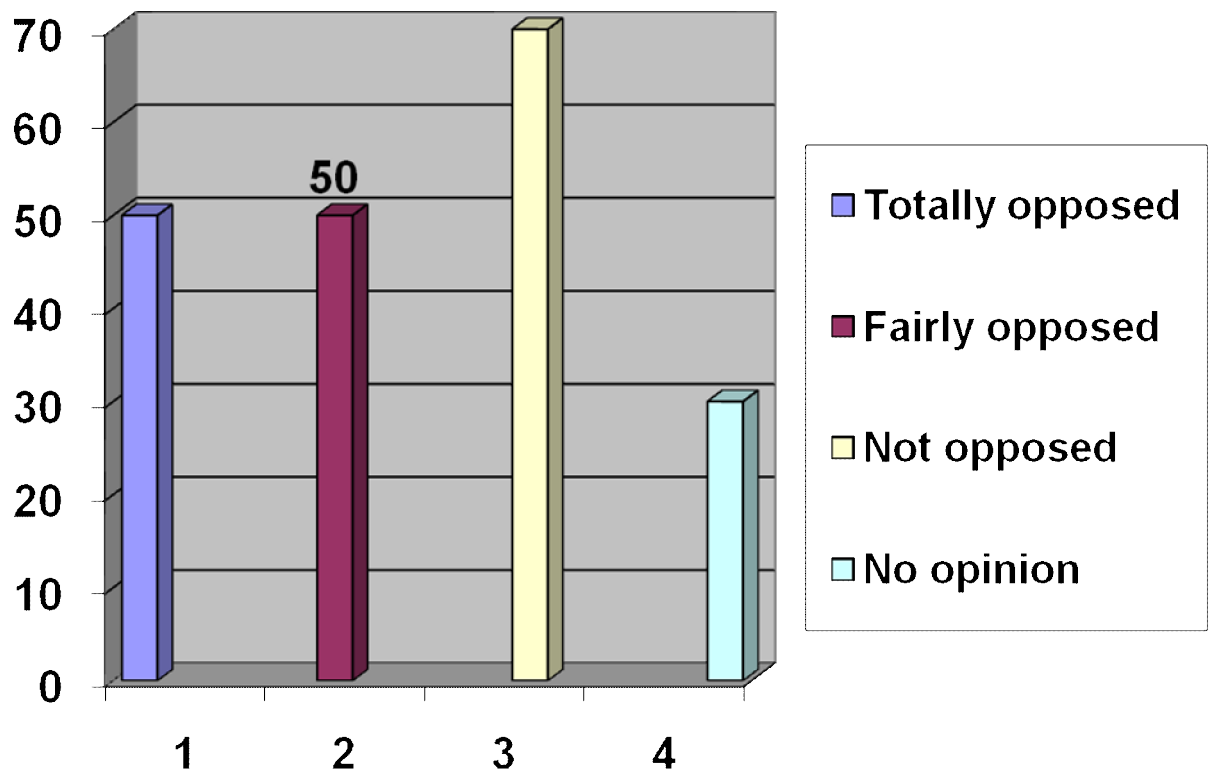
Source: Field survey, October, 2010

Table 3.2 above indicated clearly that both male and female respondents were represented in the distribution of questionnaires. The table revealed that 135 respondents representing 67.5% were male; While 65 respondents representing 32.56% were female. The implication of this finding to the study is to exhibit appropriate distribution among the sexes.

TABLE 3.3 OPPOSED ECOWAS DUE TO LACKS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION SUCCESS

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Totally opposed	50
Fairly opposed	50
Not opposed	70
No opinion	30
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



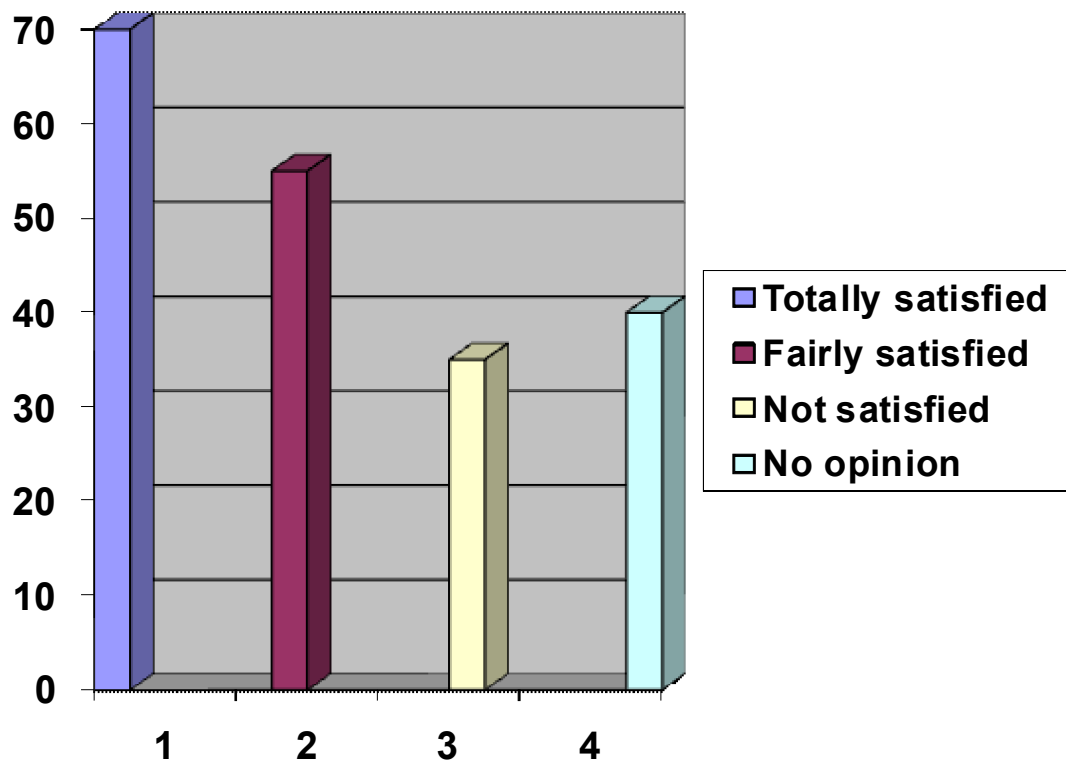
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the opposition of citizens to ECOWAS due to lack of ECOWAS integration successes. Only 25% of respondents were totally opposed to ECOWAS due to lack of integration successes. The chart above revealed empirically that 50 respondents (25%) agreed that the community citizens opposed ECOWAS for her failure to fully integrate member states. While another 50 respondents (25%) fairly opposed, 70 respondents (35%) not opposed and 30 respondents (15%) represented no opinion. This analysis exhibits that the outright opposition to

ECOWAS due to integration activities is low. The implication of these findings to the study is that ECOWAS needs to improve on delivery on programs geared at regional integration.

TABLE 3.4: SATISFACTION IN THE CONTENT OF ECOWAS INTEGRATION POLICIES

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Totally satisfied	70
Fairly satisfied	55
Not satisfied	35
No opinion	40
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



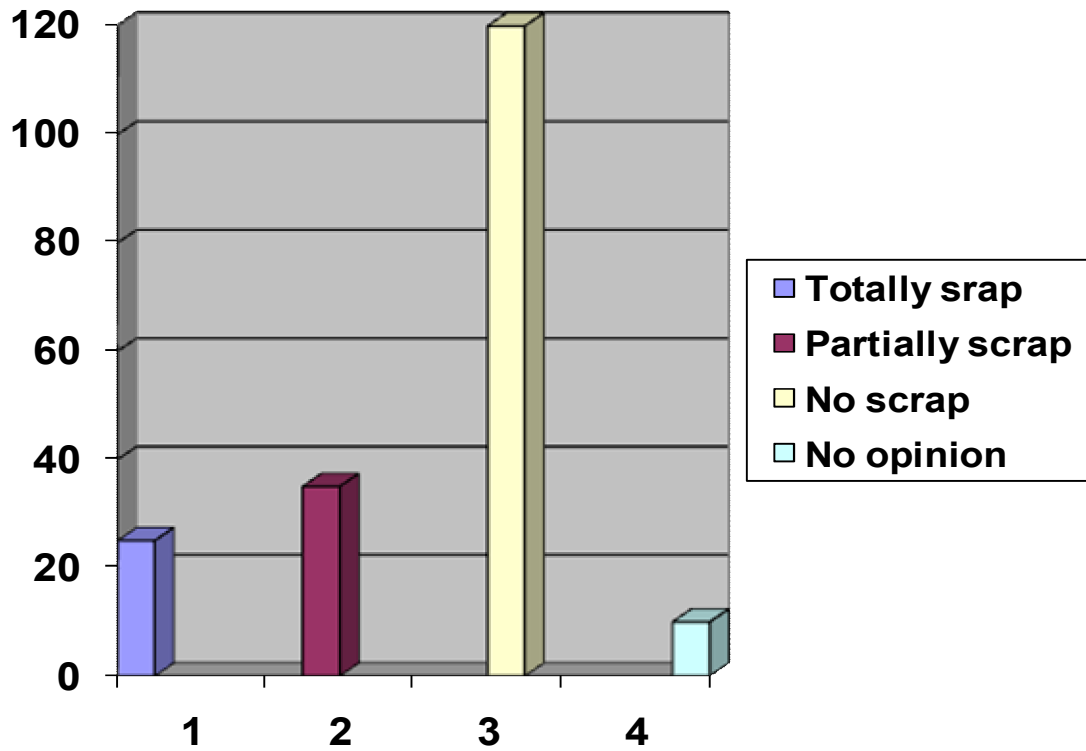
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the satisfaction of citizens on the content of ECOWAS integration policies.

Only 35% of respondents were totally satisfied with the content of ECOWAS integration policies. 70 respondents (35%) were totally satisfied, 55 (24.5%) were fairly satisfied, 35 (17.5%) were not satisfied while 40 respondents (20%) gave no answer. The implication of these findings to the study is that respondents had a poor impression of ECOWAS policy content. This means that the study indicates that ECOWAS should revisit the contents of its policies on integration.

TABLE 3.5: SCRAP ECOWAS AS A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION?

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Completely scrap	25
Partially scrap	35
No scrap	120
No opinion	10
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



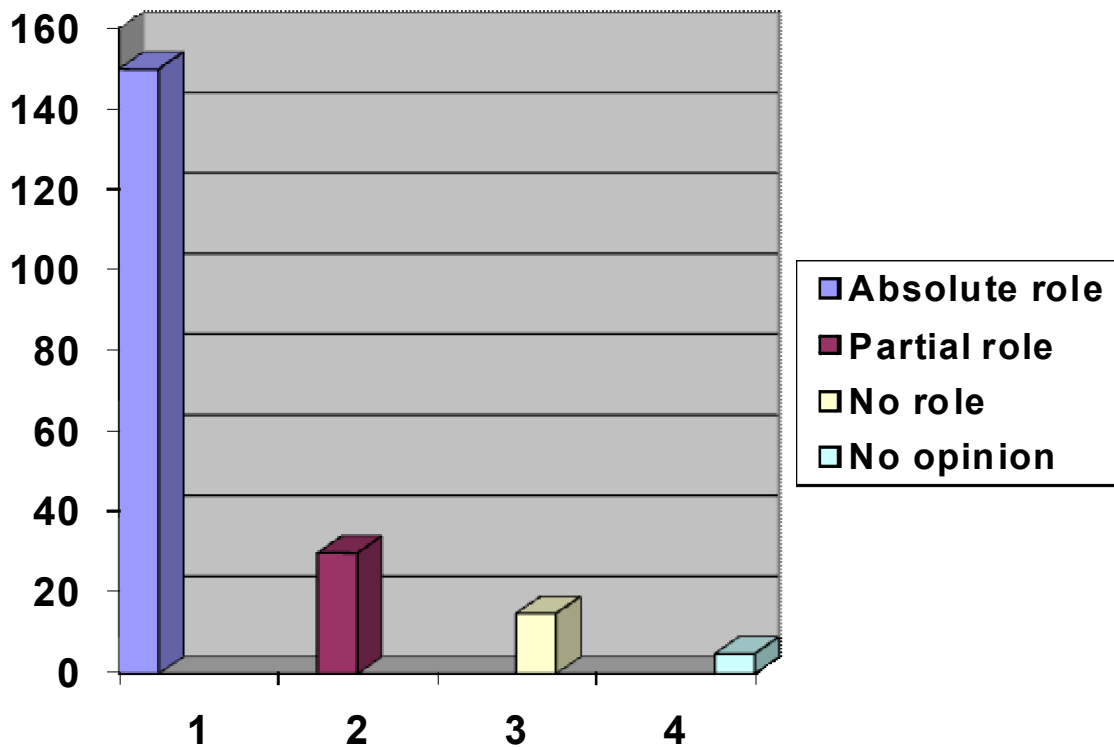
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the receptiveness of citizens to the scraping of ECOWAS. Table 4.5 and the chart above are empirical analysis on whether respondents would want ECOWAS scrapped if given the opportunity. In this regard 25 respondents (14.5%) agreed for a total scrap, While 35 respondents (17.5%) went for partial scrap, 120 (60%) respondents disagreed vehemently maintaining that ECOWAS should stand and 10

respondents gave no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that respondents believe that ECOWAS has a role to play as indicated by their majority opinion not to scrap the institution.

TABLE 3.6 POSITIVE ROLE OF ECOWAS IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Absolute role	150
Partial role	30
No role	15
No opinion	5
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



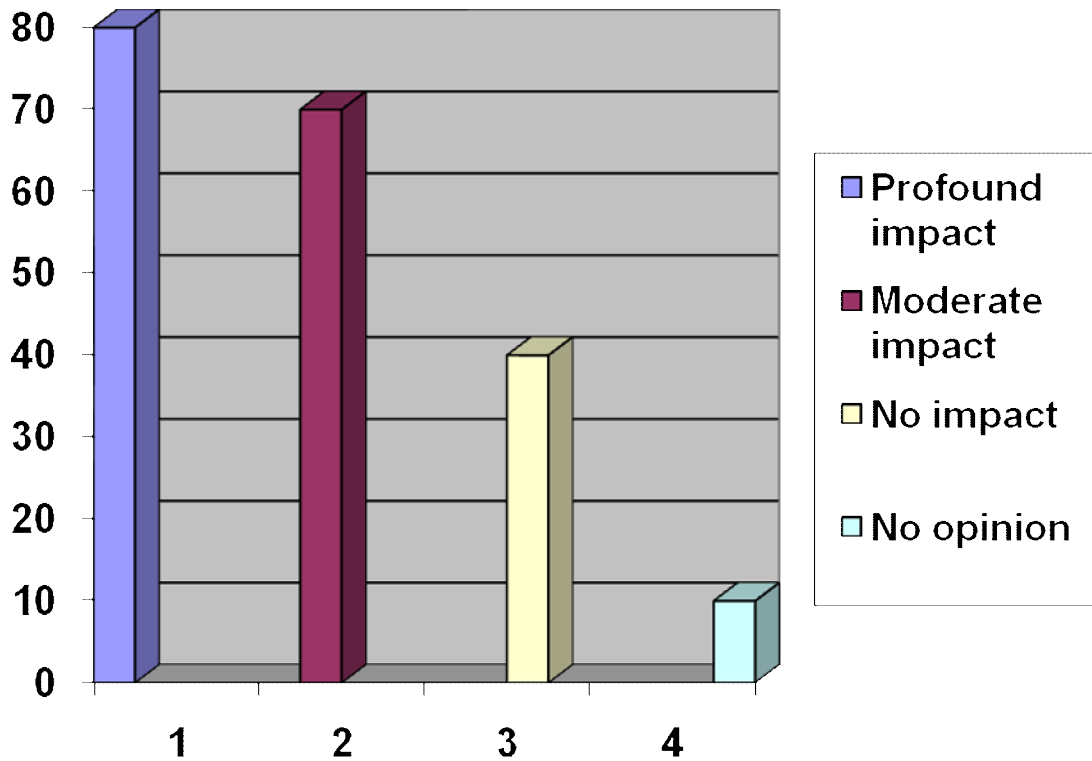
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the impression of Community citizens on the role ECOWAS as a mechanism for regional integration. The above table reveals that 150 respondents (75%) agreed with the positive role of ECOWAS as a mechanism for regional development, 30 respondents (15%) partially agreed, 15 respondents (7.5%) disagreed with the positive role of ECOWAS in regional development while 5 (2.5%) gave no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that an overwhelming majority of respondents believed in the establishment of the ECOWAS because of its positive role as a mechanism for

regional development. This was determined from objectives it has so far achieved.

Table 3.7 THE IMPACT OF ECOWAS ON COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Profound impact	80
Moderate impact	70
No impact	40
No opinion	10
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



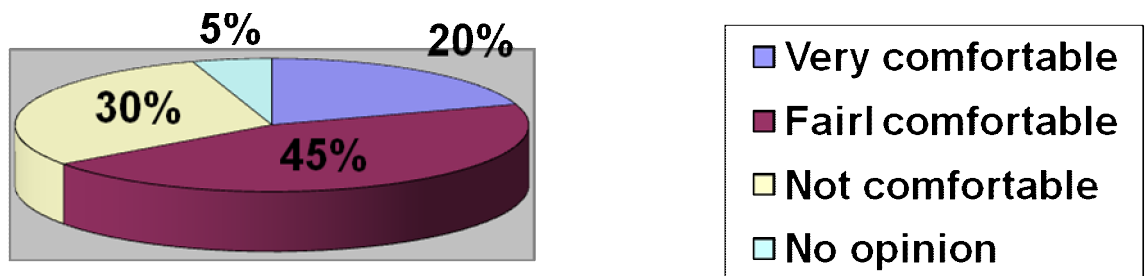
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the views of citizens on the impact of ECOWAS as a mechanism for Cooperation and Development in West Africa. Only 80 respondents (40%) responded positively that ECOWAS has an impact on cooperation and integration in W/Africa, Whereas 70 respondents (35%) responded it had moderate impact, 40 respondents (20%) no impact while, 10 (5%) had no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that there is a poor perception of the impact of ECOWAS as a mechanism for development in the region, more work needs to be done by the Institutions to exhibit successes of ECOWAS and the

impact of ECOWAS as a mechanism for Cooperation and integration in West Africa.

TABLE 3.8 COMFORT WITH ECOWAS IN COOPERATION IN WEST AFRICA

RESPONSES	<i>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</i>
Very comfortable	40
Fairly comfortable	90
Not comfortable	60
No opinion	10
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



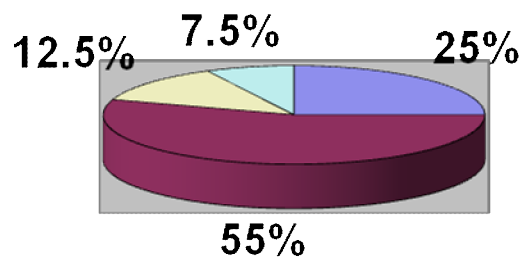
The researcher sought to find out from the data above how comfortable citizens were with ECOWAS as a mechanism for cooperation within the sub-region. From the chart above, 40 respondents (20%) were very comfortable with ECOWAS presence in cooperation. In the same vein, 90 respondents (45%) fairly comfortable, 60 (30%) not comfortable and opposed to the view while 10 (5%) neither agreed nor disagreed. The implication of these

findings to the study is that respondents were cautious of ECOWAS impact as a mechanism for cooperation within the sub-region; however the respondents certainly did not reject the Institution.

TABLE 3.9 ECOWAS AND TRANS BORDER TRAFFIC OF GOODS

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Greatly improved	50
Moderately improved	110
Not improved	25
No opinion	15
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



- Greatly improved
- Moderately improved
- Not improved
- No opinion

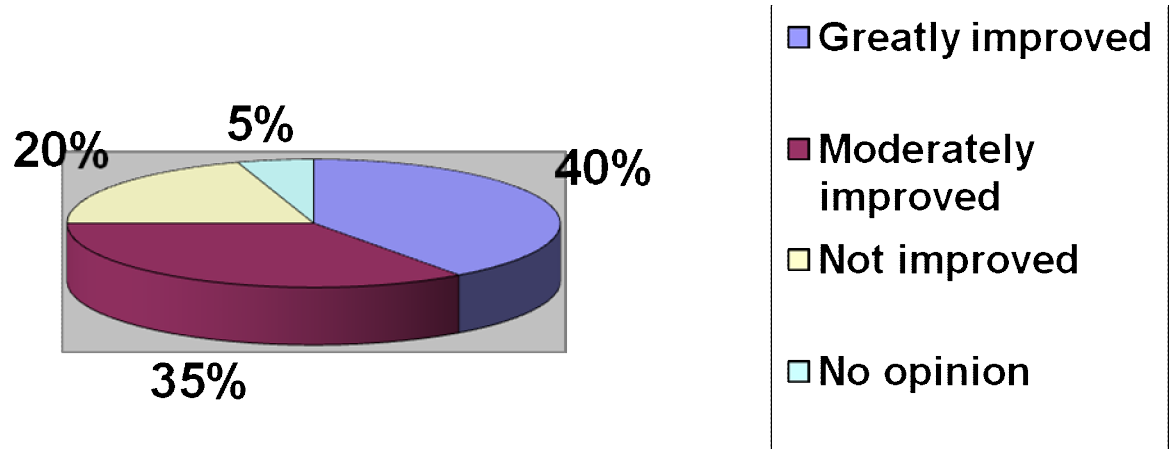
The researcher sought to find out from the data above the views of citizens to ECOWAS and trans-border traffic of goods. Table 4.9 is an indication that 50 respondents (25%) agreed that there is great improvement in trans-boarder traffic as a result of ECOWAS activities; Whereas 110 respondents (55%) opined moderate improvement, 25 respondents (12.5%) observed no improvement while 15 respondents (7.5%) opted for no opinion. The implication of

these findings to the study is that a majority of respondents believe that ECOWAS has had a positive impact on cross border traffic of goods.

TABLE 3.10 FREE FLOW OF CROSS-BORDER EXTORTION

RESPONSES	<i>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</i>
Greatly improved	80
Moderately improved	70
Not improved	40
No opinion	10
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010

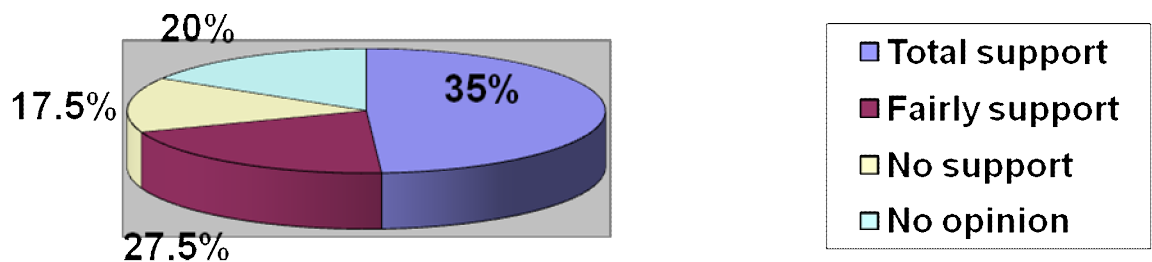


The researcher sought to find out from the data above the impression of citizens of ECOWAS in relation to cross-border extortion. The above table demonstrated that 80 respondents representing 40% were in agreement of an improvement in cross-boarder extortion, 70 respondents (35%) agreed that there is moderate improvement, 40 respondents (20%) no improvement while, 10 respondent made of 5% gave no opinion.

**TABLE 3.11 SUPPORT FOR ECOWAS ROLE IN TRANS-BORDER
MIGRATION**

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Totally support	70
Fairly support	55
No support	35
No opinion	40
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010

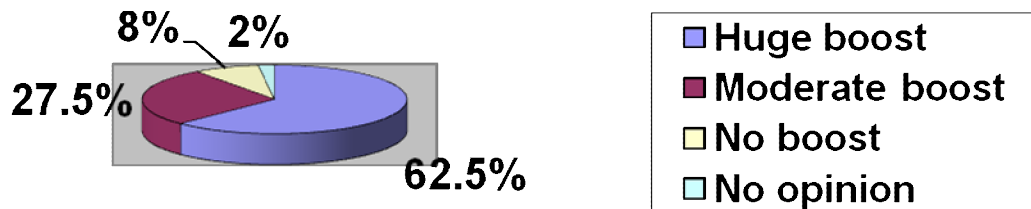


The researcher sought to find out from the data above the support for ECOWAS role in trans-border migration. 70 respondents representing 35% totally supported the role of ECOWAS in cross-border migration, 55 (27.5%) fairly supported it, 35 gave no support while 40 (20%) gave no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that ECOWAS is positively affecting the free-flow of cross-border migration.

TABLE 3.12 ECOWAS BOOST ON TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Huge boost	125
Moderate boost	55
No boost	16
No opinion	4
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



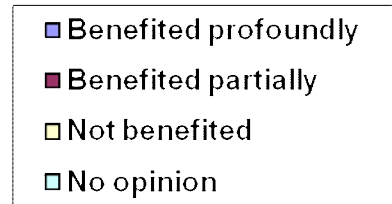
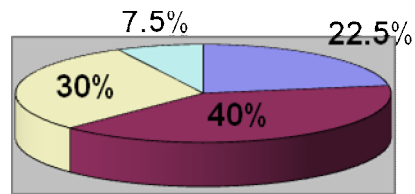
The researcher sought to find out from the data above whether ECOWAS policies have boosted trade liberalization and job opportunities. The above chart shows evidence of 125 respondents representing 62.5% being of the view that ECOWAS has had a huge boost on trade liberalization and job opportunities for the youths of the community, 55 respondents (27.7%) opted for moderate boost, 16 respondents (8%) were against the proposition while 4 respondents (2%) expressed no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that the introduction of ECOWAS policies has enormously enhanced trade liberalization among member states and it also generates youthful employment within the community. ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme has boosted the value of trade

among member states and has created new jobs for the youth of the community.

TABLE 3.13 BENEFIT FROM ECOWAS TRADE LIBERALIZATION STRATEGIES

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Benefited profoundly	45
Benefited partially	80
Not benefited	60
No opinion	15
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010

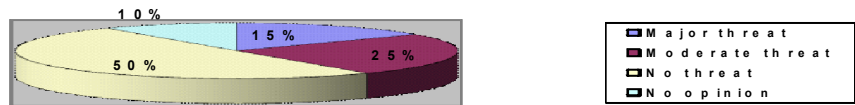


The researcher sought to find out from the data above whether community citizens have benefited from ECOWAS initiatives in trans-border traffic of goods. The above chart is an indication that 45 respondents representing 22.5% benefited profoundly from ECOWAS trade liberalization strategies. On the other hand, 80 respondents representing 40% benefited partially, 60 respondents (30%) did not benefit from trade liberalization while 15 respondents (7.5%) expressed no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that 62.5% of the citizens had either benefited profoundly or partially.

TABLE 3.14 ECOWAS TRADE LIBERALIZATION THREAT TO SOVEREIGNTY

RESPONSES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Major threat	30
Moderate threat	50
No threat	100
No opinion	20
Total	200

Source: Field survey, October, 2010



The researcher sought to find out from the data above whether citizens of the Community viewed ECOWAS trade Liberalization policies as a threat to national sovereignty. 30 respondents (15%) believed that the policies were threatening, 50 respondents (25%) agreed on the moderate threat, while 100 respondent (50%) indicated no threat. and 20 respondents (10%) of the total respondents had no opinion. The implication of these findings to the study is that half the community citizens were comfortable that their national sovereignty was not threatened by ECOWAS.

3.2 The Cultural Foundations of Integration

West African countries today are weakly integrated nationally, regionally, and internationally. Ethnic and sociopolitical divisions are particularly significant in certain countries, like Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria, and all countries in the region suffer from weak transport and communications infrastructure and other impediments to socioeconomic integration at the national level. Regionally, West African countries are divided by a wide range of institutional, legal, and infrastructural barriers. At the international level, Africa is increasingly marginalized from world markets, from technology and communications networks, and from the world community in general.

Efforts are required on all these fronts. The sense of disconnectedness in Africa is strong, and Africans are searching for new forms of community able to overcome some of the development challenges of today's fast-changing world.

3.3 The Experience of The Franc Zone

The economists' analysis of integration, focused on the efficient allocation of resources at a given time, is relatively limited in operational terms, despite the many sophisticated variants this analysis has produced. As a case in point, the franc zone — whose two branches in Africa, the West African Monetary Union and the Bank of Central African States, share a common currency and monetary policy — is not, as the economists would have it, the outcome of gradual evolution toward economic integration among countries satisfying the criteria for an optimum currency zone. It represents rather the political will and solidarity of French-speaking countries and the desire to endow the French empire with its own, single currency.

Whatever its failings, the franc zone has the merit of being fully operational, in contrast to the many overlapping regional integration projects whose existence is largely theoretical. Certainly, these monetary unions have been the object of legitimate criticism, mainly with regard to the exchange rate of the CFA franc, which remained overvalued for many years to the detriment of member countries.

Yet, when we look at it closely, we find that the franc zone today represents the only mechanism of regional integration whose grounding in reality goes beyond the magical incantations of summit Declarations. Nothing durable will be achieved if we lose sight of this simple fact.

There are probably many reasons behind the relative success of the franc zone, but one in particular should be highlighted: what makes these monetary unions among the countries of francophone Africa so uniquely successful is their grounding in historical reality and a cultural reality supported by a common language of business, elites cast in the same educational mold, and similar traditions of public administration and fiscal management.

If such recent constructs can take root and bind inter-state groupings together so securely, then what prevents Africans from drawing upon centuries of historical experience for inspiration to build Africa's great economic units for the 21st century? There lies, in our common African heritage, a wellspring of strength upon which we could draw.

Our appreciation of this common heritage is perhaps fragmentary and sometimes hypothetical, but we know it exists, in our history as well as in our shared hopes for the future. The implication for the French is that it will foster further cooperation and integration with common currency of the member states and cause stability in the French currency. The implication for integration is West African Countries has a common cultural background and common “fund of experience” Leopold Senghor (1971).

3.4 *A Common Heritage*

African peoples separated by great distances have developed similar institutions and mythological constructs whose homogeneity attests to our commonalities. Legends about creation provide a good example.

For the Dinkas of southern Sudan — distant descendants of Homer’s “noble Ethiopians” — there was a golden age long ago when God lived among men. This African Eden was shattered when a woman so coveted a parcel of land that she struck God with her hoe. God retreated to heaven, and sent a little blue bird to cut the cord that had allowed men to climb to heaven and God. The earth has been

cursed ever since: men must work to gain their food, and often go hungry despite it all. It was also then, for good measure, that Death first visited the world.

Several thousand miles away, in the forests of Ghana, the Akans recount virtually the same story, although there is no reason to think that they were ever in contact with the ancestors of the Dinkas. According to the Akan legend, long, long ago, God lived on earth, or was at least very close to us. But there was an old woman whose custom it was to pound her fufu (a cassava dish), and she would bump God with her pestle. God then said to the old woman: "Why do you always do that? Thanks to you, I shall retire to heaven." Which is exactly what he did?

Despite the apparent diversity of ethnic and language groups in Africa, there is at the core what Leopold Senghor (1971) and the "négritude" school, as well as Cheikh Anta Diop (1959, 1960) and his disciples, called a "common fund" of experience. When we examine family organization in precolonial Africa, the structure of the state,

and prevailing philosophic and moral precepts, we find many similarities and constants, in spite of distances and geographic barriers. Although African cultures are pluralistic and encompass many ways of life, they just as surely express a certain complementarities that could be tapped, to mutual advantage.

The “common fund” expresses itself also in the daily use of African languages in penetrating the linguistic barriers erected by the colonial powers (Ki Zerbo, 1986). African languages could be a force for political integration, becoming a source of social regeneration, without necessarily displacing the foreign languages that allow us to deal with the rest of the world.

3.5 *Continuity In Change*

The precolonial contacts and linkages that were permitted by African geography survived the colonial assault remarkably well, as if to demonstrate that they draw their vitality from the very source of our cultural identity. Although colonial borders forcibly separated and divided our communities, ethnic groups, and families, they could not

sever the blood bonds and family ties those centuries of history and shared experience had forged.

Contacts have been sustained as though borders did not exist, as African people continue to mix and travel. Someone living today in Benin may be elevated to the court of the Sultan of Sokoto in Nigeria tomorrow. Another, who resides in Benin, may work his fields in Togo. Who among us does not have brothers or cousins somewhere in a neighbouring state or elsewhere in the region? Ethnic groups are scattered all across the region's political frontiers.

I know families in Ghana who have relatives in Côte d'Ivoire, and perhaps in Togo and Benin. Ancestor worship as practiced among some Ivorian is found in Ghana as well, because these countries share territory belonging to the same Akan kingdom. Parallels can be found straddling the borders of Zaire and Congo, or Zambia and Zimbabwe. Touré, Traoré, Diallo, and Kane families can be found in Guinea, Mali, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire and even in Niger and Cameroon. One could cite any number of such examples.

Those who deny that Africans have much to trade among themselves ignore the history of precolonial trade, which was based on the exchange of good across different ecological zones, in a dynamic regional trading system centered on the entrepôt markets that sprang up at the interstices of these zones. Markets such as these could have become commercial centers of regional economic integration. These included, from east to west, Kukuwa, the famous capital of the state of Borno; Kano, the centre of the African caravan trade; Salaga, the major kola market in Dagoumba country, and finally Kong, at the head of one of the main caravan trade routes linking the Middle East and West Africa.

The problems encountered in promoting regional integration at the formal level stand in contrast to the dynamism of African people who have already managed to integrate in many respects, based on extraordinary levels of intercountry migration and the growth of traditional or "informal" trade.

Circumventing every official barrier thrown up against it, this flourishing integration process is supported by two well-known phenomena in West Africa:

- the sustained ethnic and cultural intermingling of peoples through migration, dating back to the great empires of medieval times;
- the legacy of the great political and social groupings of a previous age, represented today by traditions of social unity among the extended families now scattered through various countries across the Sahel.

To promote the free movement of goods and services is simply to recognize the everyday reality of the marketplace. For in spite of all the linguistic, economic, and legal barriers, you will find, at the Sandaga market in Dakar, Guineans buying products from Niger sold by a trader from Mali.

The fact that contemporary African states have failed in their integration efforts, despite all this, should lead us to question the wisdom of policies espoused over the last 30 years. Having set

themselves up as the exclusive arbiters of regional integration, these post-colonial states have denied the legitimacy of any independent integration process, rather than relying on local historical and cultural realities. Implication for this is that, it will promote free movement of goods and services and removed every barrier such as linguistic, economic and legal.

3.6 Seeds of Hope

The creation of independent African states has had as a corollary the notion of national sovereignty as defined and managed by the state, which has sought to suppress all other sources of social identity. Claims of regional or ethnic identity, leading all too often to violence, are really a desperate form of protest against the painful disconnection of sociocultural entities from the state that determines their destiny.

Today's African states are an inescapable reality. However, if these states hope to play an active role in African integration, they will have to restore some of the sovereignty they have wrested from

Africa's socio-cultural and regional communities. Only then will contemporary states be able to play an effective part in the integration process, taking fully into account Africa's precolonial history with its emphasis on a communal concept of sovereignty as opposed to a purely national one.

Mechanisms must be found to allow ethnic groups to contribute to nation-building, through socially committed and voluntary forms of participation. To do this requires that certain powers and rights be devolved to ethnic groups in ways that avoid the disintegration of the state itself, through greater regional openness. So conceived, nation-building involves' the encouragement and promotion of open societies and open economies, despite any erosion of national sovereignty that might result. Africa can draw on the richness of its own history, in which Fulani can move through Africa, from country to country, while remaining true to their own spirit and contributing to the life of each place they visit and have been achieved to certain extent.

Africa continues to be the object of our own contempt and the arrogance of others. The task of resurrecting it belongs to us, as a people finding themselves in the very pit of social, political, and economic decay. With nowhere to go but up, the opportunity is ripe for daring departures from existing reality.

Machiavelli wrote in his book titled "*The Prince*", at a time when Italy was in even more tragic straits:

And if, as I said, the Israelites had to be enslaved in Egypt for Moses to emerge as their leader; if the Persians had to be oppressed by the Medes so that the greatness of Cyrus could be recognized; if the Athenians had to be scattered to demonstrate the excellence of Theseus: then, at the present time, in order to discover the worth of an Italian spirit, Italy had to be brought to her present extremity. She had to be more enslaved than the Hebrews, more oppressed than the Persians, more widely scattered than the Athenians; leaderless, lawless, crushed, despoiled, torn, overrun; she had to have endured every kind of desolation. [Exhortation on delivering Italy from the Barbarians]

Trapped at the bottom of the abyss, and contemplating his own historical roots, every African should meditate on these words, drawing from them the courage to make the dream come true that one day the people of our continent will join forces, as tributaries

feeding into the same river into the same sea, to build a united Africa.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 ECOWAS AS MECHANISM FOR DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

4.1 THE IMPACT OF ECOWAS ON THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

The past three decades have witnessed a resurgence of regional economic cooperation and integration groupings at the global level. Ideally, regional economic integration represents an exercise in international economic relations, driven by economic mechanism, but frequently with political objectives as the underlying motivating force. There is a view that the new regionalism can be distinguished by its emphasis on the economic and political dimensions. Regional groups now have political ambition of creating territorial identity, political convergence, collective security and regional coherence, which are now seen to be the primary neo-mercantilist goal of the new regionalism.

One of the basic arguments behind the creation of regional cooperation and integration is the argument that they

provide mechanism through which inter-regional trade expansion and accelerated development can be achieved. Indeed, the theoretical underpinning of regional integration schemes is based on the static and dynamic gains to be derived from such arrangements of course this is yet to be achieved but we are in the pipeline to achieve this if all member states are committed to their responsibilities.

The protocol on free movement of persons signed by the Authority of Heads of State of ECOWAS has impacted on the development and growth of cooperation and integration in West Africa in the area of abolition of visa and entry permit, right of residence and establishment of ECOWAS citizens. The arrangement however excluding those defined by law as undesirable aliens, those who qualify can enter without a visa and reside in a member state for a maximum of ninety (90) days. The only requirement is a valid travel document and an international vaccination certificates.

Apart from that, the impact of cooperation and integration has been experienced through the ECOWAS trade liberation scheme, the organization has established a common customs policy among member states of the community for over fifteen (15) years, starting from 1990. The trade liberalization scheme is an integrated cooperation strategy since the scheme has eliminated custom duties and taxes, removed non tariff barriers, and established a common external tariff. Unprocessed goods and traditional handicraft products can now be circulated freely between member states, without being subjected to any quantitative or administrative restrictions. This policy has gone far given member states free access to goods and products without any restrictions or barriers.

Inter-states road connection programme is another substantial area of impact on the growth and development of cooperation and integration in West Africa. The ECOWAS road transport programme is one of the strategies used by the community to promote regional economic integration.

The most impressive success recorded by ECOWAS can be seen in respect to the construction of trans boarder roads. A total of 3,777km of road has been completed, representing 83% of the trans-coastal high ways. The trans-Sahelian network already has 3,894km of tarred roads and, in total 11,071km of interconnecting asphalt roads are already in place. This implies free flow of goods and easy access by the business men in terms of business transaction and trading activities.

The organization has evolved and expanded information programme to enlighten the public and economic operators in regional activities and programmes. The citizens of ECOWAS are now better informed about the objectives, nature and implementation strategies of the ECOWAS integration process, as they are adequately informed about their rights and obligations. The organization embarks on enlightenment campaigns aimed at educating state administrator, custom officials, police officers, and health and quarantine service personnel etc. on the benefits to be

reaped from integration. This is a prerequisite to mobilizing the desired cooperation for the activities of the organizations. The implication of this is that members or citizens of the member state will be better informed about the activities of the ECOWAS region.

The role of ECOWAS in providing adequate telecommunications infrastructure for the development and growth of cooperation and integration in West Africa cannot be over stated; In pursuit of this, ECOWAS has completed the community's INTERCOM I programme; all capital cities within West Africa are now connected by micro-wave links. The organization has also recently completed its INTERCOM II programme designed to facilitate telecommunication development in the sub-region through improved satellite or fibre-optics links. These programmes have created an enabling environment for ECOWAS to make great strides towards the provision of regional infrastructures needed to stimulate trade investment and the spirit of cooperation and

integration within the sub-region. The areas of interest and intervention have been clearly stated and restated. The implementation has however been a challenge. The Transformation of ECOWAS into a Commission with greater executive and negotiating powers is the latest attempt to improve on the implementation of the ECOWAS stated goal to move the West African sub region into being a viable economic union of West Africa. The Commission is expected to come into being January 2007. The advantage of this is that ECOWAS region will become a global village and this will foster business transaction in the ECOWAS states.

4.2 Achievements of ECOWAS

- a) **Easing the movement of person:** This is the first phase of the protocol on free movement of persons which entitles ECOWAS citizens to stay in any member state for 90 days without visa (but with other residential and necessary documents).

- b) **The ECOWAS Brown card:** The Motor vehicle third party insurance, otherwise known as the Brown card is one of the protocol so far ratified and is being implemented in member states. It establishes a common settlement system for claims in international motor traffic.
- c) **Right of Residence:** This protocol enables citizens to take up jobs in any member state without the need for work permits. Nigeria has ratified it but restricted its application to certain professions.
- d) **Telecommunication Project:** The major project is the U.S. \$35 million ECOWAS telecommunication project
- e) **Road / Air Transport Project:** Road and Air transport projects U.S. \$26 million embarked upon to link up member state are in progress. There are also the Ecomarine and Ecoair programs which are to be operated jointly with the private sector.
- f) **ECOWAS headquarters:** Construction of ECOWAS headquarters in Abuja has been completed. Nigeria was instrumental in its timely completion.

g) **Eco-Bank:** The Eco-Bank transnational incorporated (ETI) and its Togolese subsidiary (affiliate) were both officially opened in March 1988 in Lomé, Togo. The bank is West Africa's first N50 million off-shore bank, specifically designed to mobilize convertible currency resources within the then 16-nation ECOWAS and from the worldwide investment community in order to establish a major venture capital fund for equity investments in the region. The implication of these achievements is that, it will lead to economic growth and development in ECOWAS Countries

4.3 ECO-BANK TRANSNATIONAL INCORPORATION as a mechanism for cooperation And integration in the formation of West African

The history of Eco-Bank dates to 1977 when several Presidents of the West African Chambers of commerce and industry began to develop the idea of creating a financial institution with the aim of promoting intra-African trade and industry within the sub-region and thereby lending the private sector support to the realization of the objectives of ECOWAS. Some leading members of the Federation of the West African Chambers of Commerce (F.W.A.C.C) later brought the idea of

the project to the knowledge of some Heads of state of the sub-region who supported it. The project was officially presented by the President of F.W.A.C.C. to the summit meeting of ECOWAS Head state and Governments in May 1983 in Conakry, Guinea. In the 1984 summit in Lomé it was approved. However, the bank was formally created in 1986. Its headquarters is in Lomé, Togo. The bank was officially opened on 1 March, 1989.

4.4.1 Specific Objectives of ECOBANK

- (a) EcoBank is to contribute to the financial, economic and social development of the ECOWAS member states.
- (b) To mobilize and promote investment for productive purpose of private and public resources from within and outside the sub-region.
- (c) To promote the development of trade, particularly of intra-ECOWAS trade which by 1988 accounted for only 5% of trade in the sub-region.

- (d) To provide supporting facilities for project rehabilitation at services to help solve pressing problems of industry in member states of ECOWAS.
- (e) To provide technical assistance for the preparation, financial and implementation of development projects.
- (f) To promote the growth and improvement of indigenous banking and financial institutions and service throughout ECOWAS.

Although all these objectives have not been achieved due to some bottle necks but at least 65% achievement had been recorded.

4.4.2 Ownership and Structure of Operations of ECOBANK

EcoBank is the second off-shore bank in the private sector in ECOWAS with the Federation of West African Chambers of commerce at its vanguard.

Its authorized capital is \$100 million out of which 50% were initially issued and totally subscribed to. The share holders in the bank are individuals and institutions from the 16 countries of West African who participate through their various countries' chambers of commerce

and industry. The ECOWAS Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development (FCCD) is also a shareholder having contributed 10% of the bank's capital.

As a bank with off-shore status, it operates in the various countries without submitting directly to the regulations of individual countries and with its capital holding always in a convertible currency (the dollar).

Only the bank's affiliated in each member state will be under local banking regulations with their respective capital in local currency.

The Togolese subsidiary or affiliate which was opened also 1 March, 1989, had an authorized capital of 750 million CFA francs (i.e. N11.75 million FEM rate as at 1 March, 1989) out of which 25% are owned by the EcoBank Transnational and the remaining 75% by local concerns. The next opened late in 1989; the Nigerian affiliate (known as EcoBank- Nigeria) followed by the Ivorian and Senegalese affiliates in that order. The Nigerian affiliate has an authorized capital of N25million and was registered in March, 1987, though it was

expected to commence operation late in 1988. This Nigerian subsidiary is owned 40% by ETI and 60% locally.

The EcoBank regulations provide for a Board of Directors of ten members in addition to one Chairman. One of such members is to be nominated by the ECOWAS fund and two others by the technical partners, the CITIBANK of America. The other seven members shall be representatives of the founder shareholders and others investors of EcoBank and shall be drawn from the countries of West Africa sub-region. The ETI had Dr. Thomas Hope of Sierra Leone as its first President and Chief Adeyemi Olusola Lawson (of Nigeria) as its first Vice President. The table below shows the distribution of EcoBank Transnational incorporate capital.

Table 4.1: DISTRIBUTION OF ETI CAPITAL

COUNTRIES	ALLOCATION IN NM	PERCENTAGE OF ALLOCATION
1. ECOWAS fund	5.00	10.0
2. Benin	1.75	3.5
3. Burkina Faso	2.00	4.0
4. Cape Verde	0.50	1.0
5. Cote D'Ivoire	5.00	10.0

6. Gambia	0.50	1.0
7. Ghana	1.50	3.0
8. Guinea Bissau	1.00	2.0
9. Guinea	0.50	1.0
10. Liberia	1.75	3.5
11. Mali	1.00	2.0
12. Mauritania	0.50	1.0
13. Niger	1.75	3.5
14. Nigeria	20.00	40.0
15. Senegal	3.50	7.0
16. Sierra Leone	1.75	3.5
17. Togo	2.00	4.0
Total	50.00	100.00%

Source: Anyanwu (1993, p.38).

4.5 How a Member Nation Benefits From Being a Member of ECOWAS

- (1) Individual nation will have access to a wider market both for the sale of products and the purchase of its requirements at home.
- (2) The proposed mobility of labour will present greater competition among nationals of the Community and lead to greater specialization and efficiency. However, the richer

nations are likely to suffer the socio-economic and political problems of alien-influx such as Nigeria has been experiencing before the expulsion of illegal immigrants. Rational Division of Labour is likely to result among the member nations. This may therefore encourage the growth of industries that have not yet been established.

- (3) Coordinated industrial planning is likely to result, especially in those industries where economies of scale are likely to exist. A corollary of the above (coordinated industrial planning) is that there will result accelerated industrial growth since certain industries will be assigned to member nations. This will materialize in so far the fear of domination is eliminated.
- (4) The capacity of the Community as a whole to make negotiations with third parties is greatly enhanced. The recent debt cancellation by the developed countries in favour of the developing countries is a case to note. Implication of these is that, it will develop African market, easy mobility of labour, and it can also lead ECOWAS to industrialized economy.

4.6 The implementation of monetary integration in West Africa:

The benefit of monetary integration is centered on the stimulation of domestic trade. The additional benefits of this monetary integration include the limitation of the influence some metropolitan countries (such as France) in West Africa; the common pool of foreign exchange reserves implicit in the integration will help to economize the use of foreign exchange reserves; the growth of the impotence of West African Nations at international organizations; the reduction of the preponderance of smuggling of goods and currency trafficking; enhancement of intra sub-regional trade and overall level of investment within the sub-region by improving the pattern of resource allocation, better economic growth, capital movement, and domestic savings; promotion of fiscal discipline; and the elimination of intra sub-regional balance of payments problems. The implication of the findings is that monetary integration will make ECOWAS to have a stable exchange rate and foreign reserve for better economic growth.

4.7 Challenges Facing ECOWAS

- (1) **Relations with Colonial Masters** – The present 15 countries of the Community were under colonial domination for large parts of their history. This has left them with different orientation and at times loyalties. Their economic and political environments are mirrored of that of their colonial masters. There are three distinct colonial/linguistic groupings; the Anglophones, the Francophone and the Lusophones. All the member nations of ECOWAS still have ties in varying degrees to their former colonial masters thus making it very difficult for ECOWAS to adopt a common commercial policy for the benefit of the sub-region
- (2) **Dependence on revenue from import duties:** Member nations of ECOWAS are dependant on revenue from import duties hence it becomes challenging to achieve the objectives of establishing common tariffs and the removal of restrictions on the free flow of goods between the member states.
- (3) **Poverty:** Many members are unable to pay their annual subventions to the body thus jeopardizing the achievement of its set objectives. Some of the countries are so poor that they

- depend heavily on some of the developed nations in Europe or America. This has divided their loyalty and commitment.
- (4) **Pursuit of different social and economic policies:** Instead of embarking on the achievement of exchange of ideas and personnel, establishment of customs union common tariff, many member nations rather pursue their individual objectives hence some are pro-West and others pro-East. This thus breeds conflict ideologically speaking.
- (5) **Political Instability:** Almost all the nations that make up ECOWAS have had past experience of coups d'état. The new military juntas usually introduce new measures which disrupt commitments the old governments had made. In some cases some countries are very busy trying to grapple with internal problems in order to avoid forceful take over leaving little or no time for integration commitments.
- (6) **Difference in Currencies:** The fact that the member nations don't have a common currency makes exchange a little wearisome due to problems of international exchange (and the rate fluctuates from time to time). The Eco, which is the

common currency envisaged for West Africa ought to have already come into force, but for the inability of Member States to meet economic convergence criteria for its coming into force.

Other problems include:

- (7) Uneven development which has lead to suspicious on the part of the less developed ones.
- (8) The relatively large size and economic resources of some of the member states create fear of domination among the smaller nations e.g. Nigeria has above 145.5 million people out of the community's about 300 million people. She also has enormous oil resources and has earned a lot in recent times out of this.
- (9) The economies are competitive rather than complementary.
- (10) All the member nations have unemployment/internal problems and this sometime distract their attention from the Community.
- (11) The free movement objective has rather succeeded in creating problems especially for the richer ones among the members e.g. Nigeria, where religions fanaticism, riots and all sorts of social vices like armed robbery, prostitutions, etc. are committed recklessly by nationals of ECOWAS particularly those

from Ghana, Chad and the Cameroon. The implication of the challenges above is that if all identified problems are given special attention to, E COWAS Region will be a better place to live again and the reward of cooperation and integration will manifest.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The result of our Findings shows that majority of the citizens supported ECOWAS because since its establishment in 1975, the organization has achieved substantially the integration of the countries of the sub-region. The empirical evidence shows that 80% of the respondents agreed with the existence of ECOWAS.

Our investigation revealed that, establishment of ECOWAS had a positive impact on communal development and growth.

The outcome of the results also revealed that ECOWAS has improved cross-boarder traffic within the region.

From our empirical research findings, it revealed that the introduction of trade liberalization has a positive impact on trade among member states and it also generates youthful employment within the community.

Our results findings from the investigation shows that defense policies of ECOWAS are not programmatically enforceable. And this explains why since the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 coup d'état still lingers in the sub-region.

The empirical result shows the proposition that; "the citizens of the community support the introduction of an ECOWAS common currency because it agreed with their national identities" is therefore true and accepted accordingly.

Finally, results of our findings revealed that, the citizens of the community were content with the foreign debt cancellation because it allows member states to mobilize resources to their advantage for socio-economic growth and national development.

5.2 Conclusions

ECOWAS was established specifically to perform the essential function of coordinating and integrating the activities of member states so that cohesion, unity and the complimentary co-existence of the member states would be encouraged to bring about the desire cooperation that is needed for growth and development in the sub

region. This research study therefore, has attempted to establish the role of ECOWAS in cooperation and integration in Africa.

During the course of the research, it was found that ECOWAS over the past years has been instrumental to the successful implementation of some of her objectives which the institution was established to serve. Among these include; trade liberalization, Trans national road connection programmes, telecommunication, the provision of expanded information programme, floating weeds control programme and regional and international cooperation among others.

The organization also faced a lot of challenges in terms of political instability, regional crises, cultural and linguistic difficulties, financial and lack of proper cooperation and integration of member states formed a blockage for a more successful implementation of her policy objectives. The above therefore, explains the reason why there are conflicting claims as to the gains of ECOWAS and the positive impact the organization has on its member states. But the prevailing

conditions of member states points to the fact that the positive effects envisioned by ECOWAS have remained largely unrealized.

ECOWAS represents the latest attempt by West Africa Countries to achieve a radical breakthrough from deprivation and underdevelopment through regional cooperation and integration for the sustainable development of the sub region. However, since inception in 1975, it has been dogged by a series of challenges in its attempt to strike a balance in its policies towards achieving its establishment goals. These difficulties are inherent in the tension /conflict that exist between maintaining the status-quo and change for better/effective management for the cooperation and integration process.

The despotic tendency of some Africa Leaders has meant that only lip service is paid to the numerous integration experiments. Change of course, remains a constant threat to entrenched interests, hence the lasting conflict between them.

We therefore conclude that, the ultimate objective of any attempt at integrating any group of countries is to improve the living conditions of the people, who are at the centre of all development efforts. The developed countries of Europe, North America, Latin America and the Asia-Pacific regions are moving steadily towards political and economic integration. The European Union is expanding and the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) has, at a recent summit in Canada, decided to establish a Free Trade Area of the Americas. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum are both examples of the growing global trend toward economic regionalism. African can not afford to be left behind.

5.3 Recommendations

Looking critically at the nature of the study and the problems highlighted thereof, the researcher makes the following recommendations.

1. One of the cardinal objectives of ECOWAS is to promote cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity

particularly in the field of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and contributing to the progress and development of African continent. To achieve this noble objective, it is recommended that more pragmatic efforts should be put in place by leaders of the organization and selfless service be enthroned so as to encourage member states to maximally give their support to the entire community for more applicable cooperation and integration of the sub-region and the African continent in general.

2. Member states should ensure prompt payment of their dues and levies so as to enable the institution to have more financial resources in order to prosecute her policy implementation agenda. The substantive regimes of the Levy Account has alleviated the problems of contributions from Member States,

however some countries are yet to hand over control of their levy account to the ECOWAS Community. It is recommended that all such countries be appealed to immediately hand over such accounts to ECOWAS. Apart from this, the leaders of the organization should source for other avenues of funding its activities.

3. Civil wars and crisis is one of the problems that hampered the growth and development of cooperation and integration of West Africa. To avoid the recurrence of this devastating trend the conflict resolution mechanisms of the ECOWAS Community should be strengthened to encourage peaceful settlement of crises without resorting to open warfare.
4. Trade liberalization among member states is theoretically being done but an investigative analysis has shown that the trade is not fully liberalized. ECOWAS' countries should therefore embark on a more pragmatic rather than theoretical liberalization that will open up their economies, thereby attracting foreign investors and integrating the sub-region into the global economy. The common market policy and the

custom union should be pursued to a logical and positive conclusion.

5. The community should embark on further publicity campaigns, particularly in the media, to enlighten the public on the benefits of integration. This may help the citizens have a better appreciation of the role of a common currency to the in achieving sustainable development in the sub region.
6. Finally, ECOWAS should strongly maintain a cooperation network with other regional organizations and international groupings of non- ECOWAS member states.

The above recommendations, if so adopted, would go a long way in reshaping and improving the ECOWAS ability to realize the aims and objectives for which the organization was established.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire administered on respondents in respect to research studies on the role of ECOWAS in cooperation and integration in Africa.

Department of political science,
Faculty of social sciences,
University of Abuja,
Abuja – Nigeria

Dear Respondent,

THE ROLE OF ECOWAS IN COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

The following questions are aimed as assessing the role of ECOWAS in cooperation and integration in West Africa. The questions are purely academic, in pursuit of a Master's degree in Public Administration, University of Abuja – Nigeria.

Please do not indicate your name or append your signature.

Yours Faithfully,

ANTHONIA ENUJEKOR

INSTRUCTIONS

Please tick {√} on the option where necessary in each question.

SECTION A

Biodata/socio-economic characteristics of respondents. Before filling in the questionnaire please let me know the following in this section about yourself.

- (a) Occupation _____
- (b) Name of Establishment _____
- (c) Designation _____
- (d) Married/single _____
- (e) Age _____
- (f) Male/Female _____

SECTION B

Questionnaire responses

1. Do you oppose ECOWAS as a result of the lack of its regional integration successes?

Totally Opposed { } Fairly Opposed { } Not Opposed { }
No Opinion { }

2. Are you satisfied with the content of the integration policies being carried out by ECOWAS?

Totally Satisfied { } Fairly Satisfied { } Not Satisfied { }
No Opinion { }

3. If given the opportunity, would you call for the scrap of ECOWAS as a regional organization?

Complete Scrap { } Partial Scrap { } No Scrap { } No
Opinion { }

4. Do you feel that ECOWAS has a role to play in the development of West Africa?

Absolute Role { } Partial Role { } No Role { } No Opinion {
}

5. Does ECOWAS have any impact on regional development in West Africa?
 Profound Impact { } Moderate Impact { } No Impact { }
 No Opinion { }
6. Are you comfortable with the level of impact of ECOWAS in terms of regional cooperation?
 Very Comfortable { } Fairly Comfortable { } Not Comfortable { }
 No Opinion { }
7. Has trans-boarder traffic of goods been improved as a result of ECOWAS activities?
 Greatly Improved { } Moderately Improved { } Not Improved { }
 No Opinion { }
8. Is there any improvement in the control of cross-boarder extortion?
 Greatly Improved { } Moderately Improved { } Not Improved { }
 No Opinion { }
9. Do you support the ECOWAS protocol on cooperation between ECOWAS member States in relation to cross-border migration?
 Total Support { } Partial Support { } No Support { }
 No Opinion { }
10. Has ECOWAS trade liberalization been a boost to employment opportunity for the youths of the Sub- Region?
 Huge Boost { } Moderate Boost { } No Boost { } No Opinion { }

11. Have you personally benefited from ECOWAS trade liberalization policies within the community?

Benefited Profoundly { } Benefited Partially { } Not
Benefited { } No Opinion { }

12. Are you of the opinion that ECOWAS trade liberalization policies are a threat to the sovereignty of member states?

Major Threat { } Moderate Threat { } No Threat { }
No Opinion { }